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STUDIES  
OF THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS  
FROM CAPPADOCIA

—BY—

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## STUDIES OF THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM CAPPADOCIA

BY FERRIS J. STEPHENS

### INTRODUCTION

Lying to the north of Mount Argæus, the highest peak in Asia Minor, is a large fertile plain. The Halys (modern Kizil Irmak), the largest river in Asia Minor, rising far to the north-east, flows near the base of the great mountain, then makes a bend to the north again, and flows into the Black Sea, thus nearly surrounding the fertile plain. Within this great bend of the river are found the sites Boghazköi, Kara-Eyük, and Kultepe. From these sites has come what is now a well recognized type of cuneiform tablets, called, for want of a better name, Cappadocian. Literally interpreted the name is too inclusive, for there are many other tablets coming from the geographical region from which these come, which do not belong to the same class at all, as for example the Hittite tablets from Boghazköi. But the name Cappadocian will probably cling to the tablets to be discussed here for a long while after a more definitely descriptive name for them has been determined.

It has long been noted that the Cappadocian script had a peculiar slant, the top of the wedges leaning to the right. We can only conjecture as to the reason for this, for nothing can be proved with reference to it. Mr. Sidney Smith in CCT I, p. 5, says: "It would appear that the tablet was held in the right hand of the scribe and the stylus in the left." Such a position would readily explain the slope of the upright wedges, but it is next to impossible to produce horizontal and upward sloping wedges in this position. More likely the scribe held the tablet in his left hand and the stylus in the right, holding



the tablet somewhat at an angle. The slant may possibly be an indication of another system of writing used by these people, alongside of the cuneiform. Any alphabetic script when written in a cursive hand has a general slant to its characters. In the old Phoenician inscriptions this is plainly to be seen. Some of the strokes of the characters slope to the left, but the general impression is of a slope to the right, just as we have it in Cappadocian cuneiform. If the Cappadocian scribes were accustomed to write a cursive script, when they adopted the cuneiform it would be natural to give it this same slant.

There is a distinct character to the script as a whole which is different from any other cuneiform writing known. What seems to have happened was that the cuneiform system was adopted in the time of the Ur dynasty. This may explain the presence in Cappadocia of the Ur dynasty scribe whose seal is published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* VIII, 142 ff. Remembering that the oldest Assyrian inscription is one of Zariku, who was appointed by Bur-Sin, it may be conjectured that cuneiform was introduced in Assyria by the Ur kings just a little earlier than they carried it to Cappadocia. This would explain the resemblance between the Cappadocian script and the old Assyrian inscription of Irishum. In Cappadocia the script developed into a more cursive style, and due to the comparative isolation of the community, took on a character peculiar to this place.

A short upright wedge, usually about half the length of the other upright wedges on the tablet, and having its head on a level with the top of the signs, is constantly used as a word divider or a form of punctuation. There appears to be no regularity to its use; rather, it would seem to have depended upon the whim of the scribe. Sometimes it seems intended as a help to determine where to divide the words, and sometimes it seems entirely unnecessary. It is never placed between the syllables of a word. Contenau's supposed case of a word divider in the middle of a word (*TC* p. 14) is based upon a misunderstanding of the text. See further discussion of this point in note 2. The only parallel to this peculiarity of Cappadocian writing found in cuneiform is a horizontal wedge used in the Amarna letters to indicate that what follows it belongs

with the line above. A single case of a horizontal wedge so used in Cappadocian tablets is found in BIN IV, 29:9. A closer parallel is to be found in the single dot used as a word divider in some of the Babylonian mythological texts found among the Amarna letters (Knudtzon *Amarna* Nos. 356, 357), and in the Moabite stone and many other North Semetic inscriptions in the alphabetic character.

A pure Semitic dialect was the language in which the business transactions of the Cappadocian merchants were carried on. The use of Sumerian, so common in Ur dynasty tablets and frequent in contracts of the first dynasty of Babylon, is entirely wanting in Cappadocia. That a people who spoke an Asiatic language was mingled with the Semitic Cappadocians is evident from the large number of non-Semitic names, but little if any trace of such a language is to be found in the Semitic. Contenau (*TC* p. 17) calls attention to two words in his texts which he believes reflect the influence of the Hittite language. The ending of *a-ḫu-aš* and *da-aš* he regards as parallel to the ending *aš* frequently found in the tablet from Yuzgat and those of Arzam. He further states that the Cappadocians followed the Hittite influence in prolonging the vowels. As to the first of these points it must be admitted that the two words which he mentions are rare; moreover, the first may be a mistake for *a-ḫu-ú*. The passage would then read *a-ḫu-ú-a a-du-nu*, my brothers are ye, an expression rather frequently found, cf. BIN IV 3 : 13; 25 : 11, 30. As to the lengthening of vowels, the facts do not warrant the assumption that Cappadocian has been influenced by Hittite. Such lengthening of vowels as we find in Cappadocian is partly graphic, and partly to express naturally long vowels.

The relation of Cappadocian to other Semitic dialects is a matter difficult to determine except in a general way. There can be no doubt that it is more closely related to Assyro-Babylonian than to any other language. The roots in common use are those used in Babylonia and Assyria. The pronouns correspond to those of Assyro-Babylonian rather than to the West Semitic pronouns. But as to the question whether the relation is primarily to Assyrian or to Babylonian the evidence is conflicting. Lewy has pointed out that the demonstrative



third singular masculine is *šu-ut*, corresponding to the Old Assyrian rather than to the Old Babylonian (*SATK* p. 22). It should, however, be noted that the form is quite commonly used in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, cf. Knudtson *Amarna* p. 1527. Contenau has noted the similarity to Old Babylonian in the Cappadocian soft pronunciation and use of the mimation, which is not found in Assyrian (*TC* p. 16).

But there is no need to attempt to identify Cappadocian with any other dialect; it has a character of its own. The following distinctive marks are to be noted as appearing only in Cappadocian: (1) Certain roots have a meaning not found elsewhere, *lapātu*—to lay up for safe keeping, *qāpu*—to borrow, take on credit, (2) the many imperfectly understood words only point to the fact of a distinct dialect peculiar to the land, (3) there is a more frequent use of *tan* formations of verbs than elsewhere, (4) the use of the *šaf'el* and *sif'el* discussed in my notes in *JAOS*, June 1926, is also a distinctive mark, for the form *sif'el* is elsewhere unknown, (5) the prepositions *ana* and *ina* were very often written *a* and *i*, and is something not found in other dialects, (6) the usual formula for the opening of a letter in Cappadocian and other early tablets is *a-na A . . . ki-bi-ma um-ma B . . .*; in Cappadocian only, this is frequently varied to *um-ma B . . . a-na A . . . ki-bi-ma*, (7) while an enclitic *ni* in a relative clause is known in other dialects, its use in Cappadocian is much more general than elsewhere. One can take any Semitic dialect and find in it resemblances to all the others. This procedure without a consideration of the differences would reduce all to one; the differences are as important as the resemblances. The Cappadocian dialect has enough peculiarities to place it in a class by itself. It need no longer be called Assyrian or Babylonian or Akkadian, but simply Cappadocian, one of the many Semitic dialects of ancient times.

It must be realized that questions of race and questions of language or culture are quite different matters. The first belongs to anthropology. The answer to the second may be but slight evidence for answering the first; for races adopt foreign languages and cultures. It does not necessarily follow, then, that a people speaking a certain language belong to the



same physical race with all others using the language. It has become customary, however, to speak of peoples using a Semitic language as belonging to the Semitic race. If it is kept in mind that the so-called Semitic race probably represents many physical stocks, the term may be used for convenience. The Cappadocian name list leaves no doubt that a majority of the people were Semites who named their children in honor of Semitic gods and with names made up of Semitic nominal and verbal elements. It is also quite evident that there was a considerable number of the people who were of non-Semitic origin. *A-lu-ud-ḫu-ḫa-ar-šá*, *Ar-za-na-aḫ-šú*, *Ḫa-šú-šar-na*, *Ḫi-iš-ta-aḫ-šú*, *Šá-ak-ri-aš-wa*, and many others, for which see the name lists, are clearly people of Asiatic origin. The population was doubtless made up of people from the various branches of Semitic races, living side by side with people of other origins. The whole population mingled together freely in business relations, but that the Semites predominated is indicated by the fact that the Semitic dialect was the one in current use, and the fact that the majority of names were Semitic.

The theory that the Cappadocian community represents an Assyrian colony was proposed by Sayce with the publication of his Sargon seal in 1910. It has found support recently in the view of Dr. Lewy that there was an old Assyrian empire extending "from the city of Ashur to the Halys" (ZA 36, p. 19). The presence of the seal of Sargon, the patesi of Ashir, must indicate some recognition of his authority in Cappadocia; possibly we may infer that some official appointed by the patesi was given authority to use the seal. But if the government of Assyria played any important part in the affairs of Cappadocia it is strange that there is no further reference to the fact in the records. In all Cappadocian tablets there is not a passage that can with certainty be said to refer to Assyria, or for that matter to any country or city far removed from Cappadocia (cf. the name *Ḫa-na-na-ri-im* misinterpreted by Smith as "Ḫana of the rivers" CCT I, p. 8). There is no evidence that Assyria held sway over Cappadocia except the Sargon seal, and it must be remembered that the date of this patesi is a century or two later than that

generally held for the Cappadocian inscriptions. Sargon was the sixth ruler of an uninterrupted dynasty in Assyria; perhaps by his time Cappadocia recognized the authority of Assyria to some degree. But the evidence of the whole mass of Cappadocian records which are probably earlier than Sargon's time point to an independent government. For instance, mention is made of a number of eponyms; if Assyria was in control it would be natural to expect the years to be named after Assyrian officials. No Assyrian eponyms are known in so early a period, and moreover, several of the Cappadocian eponyms bear names which are not found among Assyrian personal names. It may be inferred, therefore, that these were local officials. If it be argued that they may have been Assyrian officials who are otherwise unknown to us, it is to be noted that in the legal document BIN IV, 103, one of the parties involved in the case is an eponym. In this case at least he was a local official taking part in the affairs of the community.

What was the form of government in use? Evidently many of the institutions of government known in old Babylonian usage were also found in Cappadocia. There is repeated mention of the *garum* and the *alum* (for discussion cf. Notes 1, 10, and Walther *LSS* VI (4-6), pp. 64, 70, 254); the *rabizum* and the *aklum* are also found (cf. Walther *ibid.* pp. 75, 168 f, 267). No mention of a king is found; the highest authority was the *garum* or assembly. Government was organized on the city state plan, with a loose sort of federation between the various cities of the region. The government must have been of a democratic character, like other early Semitic governments (cf. Lampe, *The Limitations upon the Power of the Hebrew Kings* pp. 9 ff). When Sargon of Akkad was asked to go to Cappadocia to defend the colony against foreign foes (cf. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargon von Akkad nach Kleinasien*, in the *Boghazköi-Studien*, Heft 6), it was only after a council of the whole city was called that he decided to go. Very likely this body corresponded to the *garum* in Cappadocia. While the assembly of the Cappadocian community doubtless had a head, he was not a monarch.

Several facts point to a closer relation of the Cappadocians



to the Western Semites than to any other part of the Semitic world. The geographical location is favorable to this hypothesis. Cappadocia is shut off from Syria and Mesopotamia by the great natural barrier of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains. While they are not impassable, there is only one easy way of communication between Asia Minor and the East; that is by way of the Cilician Gates. For centuries armies and traders have found this pass to be the gateway between the East and the West. In the Persian period there was a "royal road" between Ephesus and Susa. This road passed through central Asia Minor, turned south in the very region whence our tablets have come, and passed through the Cilician Gates. There is every reason to suppose that this route between Asia Minor and the East was older than the Persian period. The Semites who first entered Asia Minor would be most likely to follow this route. Other things being equal, we would expect the people who first expanded in this direction to be those living nearest the region, who would be the inhabitants of northern Syria.

To this consideration must be added that of Professor Clay's theory of an empire of Amurru in the upper Euphrates Valley, which antedated the civilization of Babylonia and Assyria. The acceptance of this view, which is constantly gaining wider favor among scholars, enables us to postulate a strong Semitic base in the region from which to expect a migration to Cappadocia in early times. We have already seen reason to believe that this migration took place quite early (see above, Weidner, etc.).

Certain other facts bear testimony to the West Semitic character and origin of the Cappadocians. One such fact is the West Semitic character of the names of their gods. The list of divine elements in the proper names shows that the favorite god was Ashir. Ranking next in importance should be placed Adad, Anu, El, Ishtar, Sin and Shamash. A little less in importance were Amurru, Ea or Ia, Enlil. A few other divine names appear only occasionally: AB, Dagan, Ishara, Laban, MA-MA, MEŠ, Nana, Ilabrat, Nunu, Shara, Zu. It will be seen at a glance that practically all these gods are West Semitic deities. The home of Ashir is yet to be determined.

Before the discovery of the Cappadocian tablets Assyria was the only place known where he was extensively worshipped. Now that there has been found another seat of his worship almost as old, possibly older, than Assyria, the question is raised whether his worship was carried from the one place to the other, or whether both came from a common origin. The presence in Cappadocia of names compounded with Ashir does not necessarily mean that they are Assyrian names, or that Ashir worship was carried to Cappadocia by Assyrians. There is a geographical name Til-Aššuri which Tiglath-Pileser III mentions (Annals 176-79) as having been conquered. Esarhaddon tells us that Til-Aššuri was another name for Mitanni, which was located on the upper Euphrates (Prism A, 2 : 23 Broken Prism 3 : 14). These facts together with the early worship of Ashir in Cappadocia suggest that Ashir worship is older than Assyria.

The most common of all Cappadocian names is Ashir-malik. *Malik* is characteristically a West Semitic name element. Other names distinctly West Semitic are: Ikib-Ili, Ili-bani, Giria, Ḥananu, Aḥu-waqar, Ishma-Adad, Qama-Ashir, besides those compounded with the element *idin* and many others. The mercantile and peaceable character of the people reminds us of the Phoenicians, who plied their trade in a very early time. There are certain features about the language which have a West Semitic flavor, as for instance the confusion of sibilants. There is an example of a construction resembling the Hebrew use of the infinitive absolute (BIN IV 10 : 19). The use of the word divider is probably a West Semitic custom.

Summarizing the material furnished by the Cappadocian tablets, the following conclusions may be set forth. As early as the time of Sargon of Akkad a colony of Western Semites had migrated to the fertile plain north of Mount Argæus, doubtless attracted by the rich mineral deposits of the region. This small colony near the base of the great mountain was defended from an enemy by Sargon in the early stages of its growth. During the next few centuries it continued to grow in size and prosperity until it embraced a large number of semi-independent cities in the district. The Semites never drove out the earlier inhabitants of the land, but like the early



Hebrews in Palestine, lived together with them and gradually imposed their institutions upon them. During the period of the Ur dynasty, if not earlier, the cuneiform system of writing was adopted, for the sake of securing greater permanency for their business records. The system adopted was of a somewhat simplified type, adapted to a phonetic reproduction of the Semitic language being used in the business dealings, and capable of being quickly learned by inexperienced scribes. Living in comparative isolation behind the Taurus range, the script and language developed a distinct character of its own. While recognizing a certain dependence upon the superior power of their Babylonian and Assyrian kinsmen, the people of this Cappadocian colony enjoyed practical independence, as shown by their autonomous democratic form of government. This independence also prevailed in their business transactions, which for the most part were carried on locally. The colony continued to exist as an independent state at least until the time of Sargon the patesi of Ashir. By the middle of the second millennium B. C. its place had been taken by the Hittite empire, but its people still continued to live in the region as attested by the Greek traditions of the "white Syrians" of Asia Minor between the Gulf of Issus and the Black Sea.

## TRANSLATIONS OF SELECTED TEXTS

### CONTRACTS

The Cappadocian texts which for convenience may be grouped under this general heading are by no means uniform. They cover quite a variety of relations, most of which have to do with some sort of commercial transactions. Those contained in the Yale Collection all deal with business matters. Among the previously published texts there is an occasional contract dealing with marriage relations.

The business contracts of the Yale Collection may be divided into the following groups: (1) Those dealing with loans of money, or promissory notes. (2) Records of sums of money and merchandise entrusted to certain individuals for transportation. (3) Documents binding persons entrusted with money to certain conditions in handling it. (4) Memoranda or lists of articles delivered. (5) Miscellaneous.

The first group is drawn up according to stereotyped form, indicating the frequency with which such contracts were formed. Of the total number of Cappadocian tablets known a large number are of this class. The conditions underlying the loan may be assumed to be as follows: the borrower takes a certain quantity of merchandise which is evaluated at the price agreed upon, and makes a trading expedition to some more or less distant place, selling his wares for whatever price he can command. The owner of the goods, in order to protect himself, draws up this promissory note binding the trader to pay a certain sum at the end of a certain time, presumably the time for the return of the trader. The merchandise is never mentioned in the notes themselves, but that such an arrangement was the reason for making the loan is implied in BIN IV, 27; cf. BIN IV, 61, where it is expressly stated that certain quantities of merchandise were delivered to the trader for cer-



tain periods of time for certain sums of money. The period for which the loan was made varied from 1 to 7 months or from 3 to 70 *hamuštim* according as the time is stated in one or the other kind of terms. The length of the period would probably be made to conform to the length of the journey proposed.

It is to be noted that no interest was charged upon these loans until after the date of maturity. But after that date a certain rate of interest was charged "if he has not paid." A quite common interest rate is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shekels per mina, per month, which amounts to thirty per cent per year. Twenty per cent is also common; in several cases the rate is forty per cent and in one case (CCT I, 7a : 10) it is sixty per cent, and in another (CCT I, 8b : 10) the rate is apparently  $133\frac{1}{3}\%$ . On the other hand the rate is sometimes very low. In two cases (CCT I, 3 : 57, 4 : 34) the rate is given as  $\frac{2}{3}$  shekel 15 *še*. Assuming that there are 180 *še* in a shekel as in Babylonia this amounts to exactly 15%. In LTC IV, 91a : 11 the rate is only  $5\frac{1}{3}\%$ . The reason for this great difference in interest rate does not depend upon the length of time for which the loan was made, for there is no definite relation between the rates given and the time. There is possibly some relation between the amount of the capital and the interest rate, the lower rate applying to the smaller sums. This, however, is not an unbroken rule for the highest rate noted is on only  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of silver (CCT I, 8b : 10). More probably the additional factor of the creditor's confidence in the ability of his debtor largely determined the rate. It is interesting to note in this connection that loans to the Garum were at the rate of only 15%. The Garum could be trusted to pay. It is also to be observed that frequently in cases where a high rate is charged, the debtors bear non-Semitic names (CCT I, 7a, 8b, LTC IV, 90a, BIN IV, 208, 170). This may be a slight indication of the dominance of the Semitic element in the community.

There are a number of tablets on which the rate of interest is stated as *ki-ma a-wa-at ga-ri-im*. Contenau (TC p. 46) has probably correctly assumed that this was a fixed rate established by the practice of the Garum, rather than that the contracting parties expected to have the rate determined by the Garum at the time of maturity of the note. Quite likely

this was the rate charged by the Garum in their transactions, and was well known when the note was drawn up. In CCT I, 5a, we have, *ki-ma a-wa-at ga-ri-im 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> šiqlam ta a-na 1 manim (im) ú-za-áb*. This may be taken as showing that the rate fixed by the Garum was 1½ shekels, or 30% which is also the most commonly stated rate.

#### BIN IV 121

*Contents:* Shume-abia is bound to pay to Aḥ-shalim 40 shekels of silver, three months after the *ḥamuštim* of Alaḥum. If he fails to pay on this date he must add interest at the rate fixed by the Garum. The silver which he borrowed was that pertaining to Ashur-bashti. There are two witnesses.

*Transliteration:* (1) ⅔ ma-na kasbam (2) i li-bi<sup>14</sup> Šú-me-a-be-a (3) Aḥ-šá-lim i-šú-ú (4) iš-du ḥa-mu-uš-tim (5) šá A-la-ḥi-im (6) a-na warḥim 3<sup>kam</sup> (7) i-šá-gal-šú-ma (8) šú-ma lá iš-ku-ul (9) ki-ma a-wa-at (10) ga-ri-im zi-ib-tam (11) ú-za-áb kasbam (12) a-šú-me A-šur-ba-aš-tî (13) e-bu-ul (14) maḥar A-šur-damiq (15) maḥar En-um-A-šur.

*Translation:* ⅔ mina of silver Aḥ-shalim holds as a debt against Shume-abia. From the *ḥamuštim* of Alaḥum after three months he shall pay him; and if he has not paid, according to the word of the Garum, interest he shall add. For the silver pertaining to Ashur-bashti he is responsible. Before Ashur-damiq. Before Enum-Ashur.

#### BIN IV 174

*Contents:* Zuba son of Ishtar-baliel is bound to pay to Buzur-Ashur 5 minas of silver, three months after the *ḥamuštim* of Shamash-bani and Ashur-ishtigal. If he fails to pay on this date he must add interest at the usual rate. The text is one of the most typical of this class.

*Transliteration:* (1) 5 ma-na kasbam (2) za-ru-ba-am (3) i zi-ir Zu-ba (4) mar Ištar-ba-li-el (5) Buzúr-A-šír (6) i-šú iš-du (7) ḥa-mu-uš-tim (8) šá <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ba-ni ù (9) A-šur-iš-tî-gal (10) a-na warḥim 3<sup>kam</sup> (11) i-šá-gal (12) li-mu-um (13) Ili-šú-ra-bi waraḥ<sup>kam</sup> (14) Áb-šá-ra-ni (15) šú-ma lá iš-kul (16) a ma-na-im (17) 1½ šiqlu ta i-na (18) warḥim<sup>kam</sup> zi-ib-tam (19) ú-za-áb.

*Translation:* 5 minas of refined silver upon Zuba, son of



Ishtar-baliel, Buzur-Ashur holds as a debt. From the *hamuštim* of Shamash-bani and Ashur-ishtigal after 3 months he shall pay. The eponymy of  $\frac{1}{4}$  Ilishu-rabi, the month Absharani. If he has not paid, on a mina, at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shekels per month, interest he shall add.

#### BIN IV 170

*Contents:* Shuḥurbea and Kurkura are bound to pay to Ashir-nada 10 minas 45 shekels of silver, within a period of 3 *hamuštim*s after the *hamuštim* of Gimil-Anim and Ili-Ishtigal. If they fail to pay on this date they must add interest at the rate of 2 shekels per mina, per month. The relatives of the debtors are bound as security for the debt. There are two witnesses.

*Transliteration:* (1)  $10\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na 5 šiqu [kasbam] (2) za-ru-ba-am i zi-ir (3) Šú-ḥu-ur-be-a[-] (4) ú Ku-ur-ku-ra (5) A-šir-na-da i-[šú] (6) iš-du ḥa-mu-uš-tim (7) šá Gimil-A-nim ù Ī-lí[--]gal (8) a-na 3 ḥa-am-šá-tim (9) i-šá-ku-lu šú-ma (10) i-na ū-me-šú-nu ma-al[-ú-tim] (11) lá iš-ku-lu 2 šiqu ta (12) i-na war-ḥim<sup>kam</sup> a-na (13) 1 ma-na-im ú-zu-bu (14) kasbam i ga-ga-ad (15) qa-me-šú-nu ù ki-ni-šú-nu<sup>27</sup> (16) ra-ki-iz (17) maḥar A-šur-ma-lik (18) maḥar El-ba-ni.

*Translation:* 10 minas, 5 shekels of refined silver, upon Shurḥurbea and Kurkura, Ashur-nada holds as debt. From the *hamuštim* of Gimil-Anum and Ili-[ishti]gal, after 3 *hamuštim*s they shall pay. If when their time is fulfilled they have not paid, 2 shekels per month per mina, they shall add. The silver on the head of their kith and kin is bound. Before Ashur-malik. Before El-bani.

#### BIN IV 153

*Contents:* Gimil-Kubum is bound to pay to Aḥatum a woman, 20 shekels of silver, three months after the *hamuštim* of Imtilim and Ashur-zululi. If he fails to pay on this date he must add interest at the rate determined by the Garum. Probably the names of two witnesses originally appeared in the last two broken lines.

*Transliteration:* (1)  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na kasbam za-ru-ba-am (2) i zi-ir Gimil-Ku-be-im (3) A-ḥa-tum tî-šú (4) iš-du ḥa-mu-uš-tim

šá (5) Im-tî-lim ú A-šur-zu-lu-li (6) a-na 3 warḥim<sup>kam</sup> (7) i-šá-gal šú-ma (8) lá eš-ku-ul (9) ki-ma a-wa-at (10) ga-ri-im ú-za-áb (11) [maḥar] Lu-lu (12) [maḥar] A-ra-na-áb-šú.

*Translation:*  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina of refined silver, upon Gimil-Kubum, Aḥatum holds as debt. From the ḥamuštim of Imtilim and Ashur-zululi after 3 months he shall pay. If he has not paid, according to the word of the Garum he shall add.

#### BIN IV 120

*Contents:* This is the record of the partial payment of a debt and a statement that two months extension of time is allowed for paying the balance. Interest is to begin at the rate fixed by the Garum if the balance is not paid at the appointed date. Upon paying all, Amurru-bani the debtor is to receive his tablet. The note at the end about the ass indicates the somewhat informal character of the document.

*Transliteration:* (1)  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (2) kasbam i-na be-ú-lá-tî-šú (3) Amurru-ba-ni (4) ga-za-ar (5) Šá-lim-a-ḥi-im (6) iš-ku-ul (7) si-ti<sup>32</sup> kasbam a-na (8) warḥim 2<sup>kam</sup> i-šá-gal-ma (9) ù dub-ba-am (10) i-lá-ki šú-ma (11) i-na warḥim 2<sup>kam</sup> (12) lá iš-ku-ul (13) ki-ma a-wa-at (14) ga-ri-im zi-ib-dam (15) ú-za-áb (16) maḥar A-šír-ṭabu (17) mar Si-nu-nu-tim (18) 1 imeram a-na (19) 17 šiqu kasbim (20) ta-dî-en (21) šá Šá-lim-a-ḥi-im.

*Translation:*  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of silver out of his property Amurru-bani, the collector(?) of Shalim-aḥim paid. The balance of the silver, after 2 months he shall pay, and the tablet he shall take. If within 2 months he has not paid, according to the word of the Garum, interest he shall add. Before Ashur-ṭabu son of Sinunutim. 1 ass for 17 shekels of silver you sold for Shalum-aḥum.

A second group of contracts is to be distinguished by the following characteristics: a certain sum of either gold or silver or both (garments CCT I, 15a) is mentioned; often its various taxes are said to be satisfied; some further description of it is given; it is said to have been entrusted (*ib-ki-id*) to a certain person or persons; witnesses' names follow.



These contracts are records that were made when the owner of some goods delivered them over to a carrier agent for transportation. Sometimes the destination of the goods is stated, as in CCT I, 15b, where the names of several consignees for various portions of the shipment are given.

The texts CCT I, 18–20, of a similar nature but containing the verb *e-zi-ib*, instead of *ib-ki-id*, are probably the receipts drawn up at the other end of the line when the agent delivered the shipment.

BIN IV, 46 reflects a particular case of the kind involved in these contracts. It is a letter from the consignee of a certain shipment addressed to the shipper, complaining that the carrier has not delivered the full amount entrusted to him. BIN IV, 27 is also to be considered here. The group of three men who are the writers of the letter report to Shalim-aḥum and Bushukin that three other men have entrusted to them various sums of merchandise. In this case the men entrusted with the merchandise had the responsibility of disposing of it to the merchant traders and fixing the terms of their loans. The property seemed to belong to Shalim-aḥum and Bushukin. The carriers were the agents of the addressees of the letter.

#### BIN IV 119

*Contents:* 24 minas of silver to be delivered to Hinaia were entrusted to the care of Amur-Ishtar and Kuzallim. Three witnesses' names are added.

*Transliteration:* (1) 24 ma-na kasbam (2) šá Hi-na-a (3) a-na A-mur-Ištar (4) ù Ku-zal-lim (5) áb-ki-id (6) maḥar A-šur-na-da (7) mar A-šur-i-din (8) maḥar Buzúr-Ištar (9) mar Gimil-lá-áb-ra-at (10) maḥar I-ku-bi-a (11) mar Gimil-I-li-el.

*Translation:* 24 minas of silver consigned to Hinaia, to Amur-Ishtar and Kuzallim I entrusted. Before Ashur-nada son of Ashur-idin. Before Buzur-Ishtar son of Gimil-Ilabrat. Before Ikubia son of Gimil-Iliel.

#### BIN IV 164

*Contents:* Two separate transactions are recorded in this text. First it is stated that the maker of the tablet has entrusted 10½ minas of silver and 47⅙ shekels of gold, bearing

the seal of Ashur-nimri, to the three men named in lines 6-8, who are agents of the man to whom the tablet was sent. The second part states that 7 minas of silver and 2 shekels of gold, under the seal of Ashur-rabi, have been entrusted to Sharru-Sin. There are two witnesses to this transaction.

*Transliteration:* (1) 10½ ma-na kasbam (2) ⅔ ma-na 7⅙ šiqu (3) hurazam ba-ša-lam (4) ku-nu-ki šá A-šír-ni-im-ri (5) a-na šá ki-ma (6) ku-a-tí En-nam-A-šur (7) A-šír-ta-ak-lá-ku (8) Be-lim-ba-ni (9) [ ]-ku-a (10) áb-ki-da (11) maḥar A-lu-lá-a (12) maḥar Buzúr-A-šír (13) maḥar I-ku-bi-a (14) 7 ma-na kasbam ga-[ ]-um (15) 2 šiqu hurazam ku-nu-ki (16) šá A-šur-rabi šá a-na (17) zi-ir Šarru-Sin (18) ú El-me-tí ub-lá-ni-nim (19) a-na Šarru-Sin áb-ki-id (20) maḥar A-lu-lu-a (21) maḥar A-šur-ma-lik (22) mar Ī-lí-iš-tí-gal.

*Translation:* 10½ minas of silver ⅔ mina 7⅙ shekels of pure gold, (bearing) the seal of Ashur-nimri, to your representatives, Ennam-Ashur, Ashur-taklaku, Belim-bani, . . . I entrusted. Before Alulaia, before Buzur-Ashur, before Ikubia. 7 minas of silver . . . , 2 shekels of gold, (bearing) the seal of Ashur-rabi, which for Sharru-Sin and El-meti, they brought to me, to Sharru-Sin I entrusted. Before Alulaia, before Ashur-malik son of Ili-ishtigal.

#### BIN IV 122

*Contents:* Four different sums of gold and silver have been entrusted to Ikubia. These amounts are the net sums after the customary official fees have been deducted. There are two witnesses.

*Transliteration:* (1) 5 ma-na kasbam ni-iz-ḥa-zu<sup>25</sup> (2) [malu šá-du-]a-zu šá-b[u - ] (3) ⅔ ma-na hurazam ni-iz-ḥa-zu (4) malu [šá-du-]a-zu (5) šá-[bu - -ba]-nam (6) ⅓ ma-na 6 šiqu ki la bi(?) (7) kasbam ni-iz-ḥa-zu (8) ù šá-d[u-a-zu ] (9) ri-ik-zu-um (10) i-na ki-ir-be-šú (11) na-din 1 ma-na kasbam (12) ni-iz-ḥa-zu malu (13) šá-du-a-zu šá-bu (14) šá dam-gar-ri-im (15) me-ma a-nim a-na (16) I-ku-bi-a ab-ki-id (17) maḥar En-na-nim (18) mar Am-ri-a (19) maḥar A-šír-ur-ḥi (20) mar Bu-da-tim.

*Translation:* 5 minas of silver, its commission(?) paid and its fee for assaying(?) satisfied, ⅔ mina of gold, its commission



paid and its fee for assaying satisfied,  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina 6 shekels . . . of silver, its commission paid and its fee for assaying placed bound in its midst, 1 mina of silver, its commission paid and its fee for assaying satisfied, belonging to the trader, all of this to Ikubia I entrusted. Before Ennanim son of Amria, before Ashur-urhi son of Budatim.

#### BIN IV 147

*Contents:* For  $\frac{5}{6}$  mina 5 shekels of refined silver which Ashkutim and Ashur-nada took out from Ganish and for  $\frac{2}{3}$  mina 5 shekels which Ashkutim took out on behalf of Edinaia, Ashkutim is held responsible. If he fails to produce properly attested documents or witnesses for Edinaia as to his disposition of the silver, he must pay a penalty for his neglect. The interest of Edinaia is thus safeguarded.

*Transliteration:*  $\frac{5}{6}$  ma-na 5 šiqu (2) kasbam za-ru-ba-am (3) šá Aš-ku-tum (4) ù A-šur-na-da (5) i-na Ga-ni-eš (6) el-ki-ú-ni (7) ù si-ta-tim<sup>31</sup> kasbim (8)  $\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na 5 šiqu (9) šá Aš-ku-tum (10) ki E-dī-na-a (11) el-ki-ú šú-ma (12) dub-ba-am ḥa-ar-ma-am<sup>12</sup> (13) ú-lá<sup>37</sup> si-be a-na (14) E-dī-na-a Aš-ku-tum (15) lá uš-ti-li a-na kasbim (16) a-nim šú-qa-am (17) Aš-ku-tum a-na E-dī-na-a (18) i-šá-gal šú-ma dub-ba-am (19) ú-lá<sup>37</sup> si-be uš-ti-li kasbam (20) Aš-ku-tum šá-bu iš-du nu-šú (21) ḥa-muš-tim šá El-ba-ni (22) a-na 6 warḥim<sup>kam</sup> e-ta-wa-ú.

*Translation:*  $\frac{5}{6}$  mina 5 shekels of refined silver which Ashkutum and Ashur-nada from Ganish took, and the rest of the silver  $\frac{2}{3}$  mina 5 shekels which Ashkutum for Edinaia took, if a legally executed tablet, or else witnesses, to Edinaia, Ashkutum does not bring up, for that silver, *šugam* Ashkutum to Edinaia shall pay. If the tablet or else witnesses he brings up, the silver of Ashkutum is satisfied. From . . . the official period of El-bani for 6 months . . .

#### BIN IV 152

*Contents:* This contract states that Buzutaia holds in his possession a tablet which was legally executed by Amur-Ishtar and Ili-alim showing that Amur-Ishtar had delivered to Ili-alim 10 minas of silver. This silver Ili-alim sent to "the city." If the agent of Ili-alim who carried the silver to its destination

does not, in return for it, deliver to Amur-Ishtar in Burušḫatim merchandise which he has purchased with it, then Buzutaia is to turn over the tablet entrusted to him for the ensuing litigation. There are two witnesses.

*Transliteration:* (1) dub-ba-am ḫa-ar-ma-am<sup>12</sup> (2) šá 10 ma-na kasbim (3) šá A-mur-Ištar a-na (4) Ī-lí-a-lim i-dī-nu-ma (5) Ī-lí-a-lim a-na a-lim<sup>ki1</sup> (6) kasbam ú-si-be-lu (7) a-na Bu-zu-ta-a (8) ni-ib-ki-da (9) šú-ma lu-ku-dam (10) šá 10 ma-na-e kasbim (11) i Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim (12) šá ki-ma Ī-lí-a-lim (13) a-na A-mur-Ištar (14) lá i-ta-ad-nu (15) dub-ba-am Bu-zu-ta-a (16) a-na da-ni-tí-ni (17) ú-ba-al-šú (18) maḫar A-šír-ma-lik (19) mar Lu-zi-na (20) maḫar I-din-a-be-im (21) mar A-šír-rabi (22) a-na Bu-zu-ta-a (23) dub-ba-am ni-ib-ki-id.

*Translation:* A legally executed tablet for 10 minas of silver which Amur-Ishtar to Ili-alim delivered, and which silver Ili-alim to the city sent, to Buzutaia we entrusted. If the agent of Ili-alim, merchandise to Amur-Ishtar in Burušḫatim, for the 10 minas of silver does not deliver, the tablet Buzutaia for judgement shall deliver up. Before Ashur-malik son of Luzina, before Idin-abum son of Ashur-rabi. (This) tablet to Buzutaia we delivered.

The following texts are grouped together because of their general similarity. They are not contracts but are personal memoranda, all on the subject of commercial transactions, but reflecting a wide range of relations. They have possibly been the property of as many different persons as there are tablets, but more likely they represent some of the daily notations set down by some one or two prominent business men, possibly Bushukin.

#### BIN IV 136

*Transliteration:* (1) 3 šiqu kasbam (2) a-na a-ma-at (3) Gimil-Ištar (4) a-dī-in.

*Translation:* Three shekels of silver for the female slave of Gimil-Ishtar I gave.

#### BIN IV 167

*Contents:* When Ashur-rabi was sick the writer of this tablet paid to him and to Ashur-mutabel 10 shekels of silver.



*Transliteration:* (1) 10 šiqu kasbam (2) a-na A-šír-rabi mar I-na-a (3) ù A-šír-mu-ta-be-el (4) ga-za-ri-šú-nu (5) i-nu-me A-šír-rabi (6) ma-ar-zu-ú (7) a-dī-in.

*Translation:* 10 shekels of silver to Ashur-rabi son of Inaia, and Ashur-mutabel their collector(?), when Ashur-rabi was sick, I gave.

#### BIN IV 141

*Contents:* Upon the death of the daughter of Ummana the writer sent him one half a roll of cloth, probably for the burial.

*Transliteration:* (1)  $\frac{1}{2}$  TÚG<sup>36</sup> i-nu-me (2) marat-zu (3) me-ta-at-ni<sup>23</sup> (4) a-na Um-ma-na (5) ú-si-bi-el.

*Translation:*  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a roll of cloth, when his daughter was dead, to Ummana I sent.

#### BIN IV 128

*Contents:* This text states that 74 rolls of linen belonging to Shume-abia were brought to the temple; that 26 of them were disposed of there and that the rest were returned.

*Transliteration:* (1) 74 TÚG ku-ta-nu<sup>21</sup> (2) šá Šú-me-A-bi-a (3) a-na ê-gal-lim (4) e-ru-bu 26 TÚG (5) i-li-ki-ú (6) 48 TÚG ur-du-nim.

*Translation:* 74 rolls of linen of Shume-abia to the temple came in. 26 rolls they took; 48 rolls they returned to us.

#### BIN IV 140

*Contents:* The writer states that the 5 shekels of silver which Amur-Ashur weighed out for him, the same person (or possibly another of the same name) has carried to Lamazi and Aḫaḫa, two women, thus probably canceling a debt of the writer to them.

*Transliteration:* (1) 5 šiqu kasbam (2) šá A-mur-A-šur (3) mar Zu-ga-lí-a (4) iš-ku-lá-ni-šú<sup>18</sup> (5) a-na Lá-ma-zi (6) ú A-ḫa-ḫa (7) A-mur-A-šur-ma (8) ú-bi-el.

*Translation:* 5 shekels of silver which Amur-Ashur son of Zugalia weighed out to me, to Lamazi and Aḫaḫa, Amur-Ashur carried.

## BIN IV 117

*Transliteration:* (1) 23 TÚG bi-ri-ga-nu<sup>7</sup> (2) šá Gimil-Ištar (3)  $\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na  $6\frac{2}{3}$  šiqu (4) kasbim it-bu-lu.<sup>19</sup>

*Translation:* 23 striped garments of Gimil-Ishtar brought  $\frac{2}{3}$  mina  $6\frac{2}{3}$  shekels of silver.

## BIN IV 168

*Contents:* This is a list of quantities of lead and other articles. Each amount of lead is designated by the name of an individual. The significance of the list is a matter for speculation. It may be an example of the kind of document referred to elsewhere as *si-ib*.<sup>30</sup>

*Transliteration:* (1) 20 biltu anakum (2) Bu-šú-ki-in (3) 20 biltu Dan-A-šír (4) 5 biltu La-ki-ib (5) mar I-li-a (6) 6 biltu I-na-Sin (7) 4 biltu Gimil-Sin (8) 6 biltu I-dī-in . . . (9) 5 biltu Ī-lī . . . (10) 8 biltu A-ta- -rabu (11) šá illat(-at) (12) Bu-šú-ki-in (13) nap̄har 74 biltu (14) anakum (15) 14 na-ru-ga-tum (16) 1 me-at 21 TÚG (17) i-lu-ki.<sup>15</sup>

*Translation:* 20 talents of lead of Bushukin, 20 talents of Dan-Ashur, 5 talents of Lakib, son of Ilia, 6 talents of Ina-Sin, 4 talents of Gimil-Sin, 6 talents of Idin- . . . , 5 talents of Ili- . . . , 8 talents of Ata . . . rabu which are under the control of Bushukin, total 74 talents of lead. 14 leather bags(?), 121 state garments.

## BIN IV 156

*Contents:* This is a memorandum for 70 bolts or rolls of cloth which have been taken from the temple. For  $8\frac{1}{2}$  of them copper at the rate of 20 minas each is to be received from the *bīt garum*; for  $50\frac{1}{2}$  of them Kurara is to pay in silver and for 10 of them Shuli is to pay in silver. The text indicates that the temple had some of the features of a business institution, carrying on trade relations with individuals and with the store house.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in line 4 is a mistake of the scribe for  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ; otherwise the total of the three amounts is only 69.

*Transliteration:* (1) i-na 70 TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (2) šá i-na ê-gal-lim (3) el-ki-ú-ni (4) šá  $8\frac{1}{2}$  TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (5) 20 ma-na ta eram (6) bīt ga-ri-im (7) a-lá-ki (8) šá  $50\frac{1}{2}$  TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (9) kasbam Ku-ra-ra (10) i-da-nam (11) šá 10 TÚG<sup>zun</sup> kasbam (12) Šú-li i-da-nam.



*Translation:* Of the 70 rolls of cloth which from the temple they took, for  $8\frac{1}{2}$  rolls of cloth, copper of the store house at the rate of 20 minas each I shall receive; for  $50\frac{1}{2}$  rolls Kurara shall pay me silver; for 10 rolls Shuli shall pay me silver.

## LEGAL DOCUMENTS

For a discussion of detailed points with reference to the following group of texts see notes 8, 10, 12, 20. In general they represent the Old Babylonian lawsuits, yet in some cases they do not involve any dispute, but are merely affidavits executed before the Garum. The situation involved in these documents may be supposed to be as follows: two parties who are named in the beginning of the tablets of this class have either a dispute to settle or a business transaction of some importance to arrange; they go and select from one to three men to act as judges or arbiters in the matter; these men are represented by the names added at the end of the document, and by the pronoun *ni-a-ti* occurring in the opening and closing formulas; then the two parties state their case before the witnesses, often in the form of one party asking the other a question and receiving a formal answer; in this way they come to agreement and their speeches are recorded on the tablet; then the Garum gives its sanction to the matter, thus legalizing and establishing the agreement.

Certain biblical incidents seem to reflect a knowledge of the same custom. The first part of the fourth chapter of Ruth in which Boaz came to an agreement with the near kinsman of Naomi, could almost be translated into a Cappadocian business document of this type. Yahweh's controversy with his people in Micah 6 is a figurative use of the same custom. The mountains and foundations of the earth are called upon to be witnesses while Yahweh and his people speak in turn. Other passages are Zech. 3 : 1 and Job 1-2, where Satan plays the part of the adversary or accuser.

## BIN IV 109

*Contents:* The legally executed contract of Buzazu and El-wadaku: Buzazu engaged El-wadaku to represent him in arranging a matter of business. The contract was drawn up

before two witnesses and officially endorsed by the Garum of Ganish. Bin IV, 110 is a duplicate of this text, in which the difficult passage *ba-a-a-ni-ma* is written on one line, though it is divided between two lines in the present text in a way that suggests there are two separate words instead of *banima*.

*Transliteration:* (1) Bu-za-zu a-na El-wa-da-ku (2) iz-ba-at-ni-a-tî-ma<sup>20</sup> (3) um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma (4) a-na El-wa-da-ku-ma (5) a-na a-e-tim zi-ki<sup>41</sup> (6) du-ga-al<sup>9</sup> um-ma (7) El-wa-da-ku-ma a-na (8) a-wa-tim zi-ga-ga (9) ú-ga-al um-ma (10) Bu-za-zu-ma ba-a (11) a-ni-ma a-wa-tam (12) lá dī-na-kum lá du-ga-lá-ni (13) a-na a-wa-tim (14) a-ni-a-tim ga-ru-um (15) Ga-ni-eš i-din-ni-a-tî-ma (16) maḥar baṭrim<sup>6</sup> šá A-šír si-bu-tî-ni (17) ni-dī-in maḥar Ma-nu-um-ki-Ištar (18) mar Gimil-be-lim (19) maḥar <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ba-ni (20) mar I-na-Sin.

*Translation:* Buzazu laid hold upon El-wadaku before us. Thus (spoke) Buzazu to Elwadaku: as to the matter of my . . . will you arrange? Thus (spoke) Elwadaku: as to the matter of thy . . . I will arrange. Thus spoke Buzazu: . . . The Garum of Garnish gave legal sanction to this matter for us. Before the sword of Ashur we gave our testimony. Before Manum-ki-Ishtar, son of Gimil-belim, before Shamash-bani son of Ina-Sin.

#### BIN IV 104

*Contents:* This is an affidavit of Dibazia and Buzur-Ishtar, the representative of Buzur-Ashur, recording Dibazia's sworn statement that 2½ minas 6 shekels of gold was paid on his debt to the god Adad; this was paid from the proceeds of some merchandise which he and Buzur-Shamash had received from Gimil-Ishtar and Elwadaku. The document was negotiated before the Garum of Waḥšušana and in the presence of three witnesses.

*Transliteration:* (1) Buzúr-Ištar šá-ki-ma (2) Buzúr-A-šur a-na Di-ba-zi-a (3) iz-ba-at-ni-a-tî-ma (4) um-ma Buzúr-Ištar-ma (5) ki-ma Buzúr-A-šur a-šá-al-ga (6) i-na lu-ku-tim šá a-šú-me (7) <sup>d</sup>Adad ga-tum i-si-ig-nu-ni-ma (8) Gimil-Ištar ú El-wa-da-ku a-na (9) zi-ri-ga ù Buzúr-<sup>d</sup>Šamaš (10) ub-lu-ni-ku-nu-tî-ni 2½ ma-na 6 šiqu (11) ḥurazum a-na ḥu-bu-li-ga

(12) šá <sup>d</sup>Adad lá i-si-ki-el (13) me-ma i-na ra-me-ni-ga (14) ta-aš-gul lá i-na lu-ku-tim (15) a me-tim šá ni-iš a-lim<sup>ki</sup> (16) ga-i-lá um-ma Di-ba-zi-a-ma (17) ki-na i-na lu-ku-tim (18) šá ga-tí <sup>d</sup>Adad (19) i-si-ig-nu-ma lu-ku-dam (20) Buzúr-A-šur a-na Gimil-Ištar (21) ù El-wa-da-ku ib-ki-du-ma (22) a-na zi-ri-a ù Buzúr-<sup>d</sup>Šamaš (23) ú-si-be-lá-ni lu-ku-tum a-na (24) ḥurazim i-zur(?)<sup>d</sup>-ma 2½ ma-na 6 šiqu (25) ḥurazum a-na ḥu-bu-li-a šá <sup>d</sup>Adad (26) i-si-ki-el me-ma i-na ra-me-ni-a (27) ú-lá aš-gal i-na lu-ku-tim (28) a me-tim-ma aš-gul (29) a-na a-wa-tim a-ni-a-tim (30) ga-ru-um Wa-aḥ-šú-šá-na (31) za-ḥi-ir rabi i-din-ni-a-tí-ma (32) maḥar baṭrim šá A-šur si-bu-tí-ni (33) ni-dī-in maḥar A-šur-rabi (34) Dan-A-šír (35) maḥar MA-MA-ḪI-IR.

*Translation:* Buzur-Ishtar the representative of Buzur-Ashur laid hold upon Dibazia before us. Thus (spoke) Buzur-Ishtar representing Buzur-Ashur: I ask you, of the merchandise which they consecrated to Adad and which Gimil-Ishtar and Elwadaku brought to you and to Buzur-Shamash, was there not paid 2½ minas 6 shekels of gold on your obligation to Adad? Did you pay anything of yourself? . . . Yes or no? Thus (spoke) Dibazia: yes, from the merchandise<sup>3</sup> which they consecrated to Adad, the merchandise<sup>4</sup> of Buzur-Ashur they entrusted to Gimil-Ishtar and Elwadaku, and they brought it to me and Buzur-Shamash. The merchandise for gold . . . and 2½ minas 6 shekels of gold on my obligation to Adad was paid. I paid nothing of myself. . . . The Garum of Waḥšušana, small and great, gave legal sanction to this matter for us. We gave our testimony before the sword of Ashur. Before Ashur-rabi, before Dan-Ashur, before MAMA-ḪI-IR.

## BIN IV 103

*Contents:* This is an affidavit showing that the Limmu Ashur-imeti, Kulumaia and Hunia have deposited 10 important sealed documents with Ashur-nishu, an official. Eight of them were letters whose contents are not stated; two were tablets having to do with the payment of debts. The names of four witnesses are added.



*Transliteration:* (1) li-mu-um A-šír-i-me-tî (2) Ku-lu-ma-a ù Hu-ni-a (3) a-na A-šír-ni-šú PA-DU<sup>26</sup> (4) iz-bu-du-ni-a-tî-ma (5) ta-ma-lá-ki<sup>34</sup> ku-nu-ki-e (6) šá ga-ri-im Ga-ni-eš (7) za-ḫi-ir rabi ib-ki-du (8) um-ma li-mu-ú-ma (9) i-na li-be ta-ma-lá-ki (10) 4 na-aš-bi-ra-tum (11) šá ga-ru-um Ga-ni-iš (12) za-ḫi-ir rabi ú-lá-bi-du (13) 4 na-aš-be-ra-tim šá (14) Im-tî-Ili šá ga-ru-um (15) Ga-ni-iš za-ḫi-ir rabi (16) ik-nu-ku-ú(?) -na-ni (17) 1 dub-bu-um ḫa-ar-mu-um (18) šá 44 ma-na kasbam (19) šá ḫu-bu-ul Gimil-Ištar mar Ili-iš-tî-gal (20) a-na A-šír-ṭabu ḫa-bu-lu-ma (21) kasbam Bu-za-zu iš-ku-lu-ma (22) a-na 2½ ma-na 5 šiqu lu kasbim (23) zi-ba-at kasbam dub-bu-um (24) uk-ta-lu 1 dub-bu-um (25) šá 20 ma-na kasbim šá a-na (26) A-šír-ṭabu A-mur-Ili ḫa-bu-lu-ma (27) A-mur-A-šír I-kib-Ili (28) ù Buzúr-A-šír (29) ga-ta-du-ni napḫar 10 dub-bi-e (30) ku-nu-ki-e šá za-ḫi-ir rabi (31) i-na ta-ma-lá-ki ik-nu-ku-ni (32) me-ma dub-bi-e a-ni-ú-tim (33) a-na A-šír-ni-šú PA-DU (34) šá I-kib-Ili ib-ki-du-ma (35) maḫar a-lim<sup>ki</sup> ù be-lí-ni (36) i-šá-ku-nu (37) mahar En-um-A-šír mar A-ni-nim (38) maḫar Ṭabu-zi-lá-A-šír mar A-šír-i-din (39) maḫar Ī-li-aš-ra-ni mar Gimil-be-lim (40) maḫar Bu-ta ga-za-ar A-šír-ma-lik.

*Translation:* The eponym Ashur-imeti, Kulumaia and Hunia laid hold upon Ashur-nishu, the official, before us. Sealed decisions of the Garum of Ganish, great and small, they deposited. Thus (spoke) the eponym: among the documents are 4 letters which the Garum of Ganish, great and small, filed(?); 4 letters of Imti-Ili which the Garum of Ganish, great and small, sealed for me; 1 affidavit saying that 44 minas of silver, of the debt of Gimil-Ishtar son of Ili-ishtigal, are owing to Ashur-tabu; and that the silver of Buzazu they paid, and for 2½ minas 5 shekels of silver the interest of the silver, the tablet was executed; 1 tablet for 20 minas of silver which Amur-Ili owes to Ashur-tabu and which Amur-Ashur, Ikib-Ili and Buzur-Ashur . . .; a total of 10 sealed tablets which the Garum sealed among the decisions. All these tablets they deposited with Ashur-nishu, the official, for Ikib-Ili. Before the *alum* and our lord they established it. Before Enum-Ashur son of Ananim, before Tabu-zila-Ashur son of Ashur-idin, before Ili-ashrani son of Gimil-belim, before Buta, the collector(?) of Ashur-malik.

## BIN IV 108

*Contents:* This is an affidavit giving the testimony of Ashur-rabi, corroborated by Enlil-bani, proving that Ashur-rabi had delivered 10 minas of silver to the father of Enlil-bani and that it had been carried before the *alum*. There are four witnesses.

*Transliteration:* (1) A-šír-rabi a-na <sup>d</sup>En-lil-ba-ni (2) iz-ba-at-ni-a-tí-ma (3) um-ma A-šír-rabi-ma a-na (4) <sup>d</sup>EN-ba-ni-ma (5) 10 ma-na kasbam ni-iz-ḥa-zu (6) malu šá-du-a-zu (7) šá-bu kasbam šá damgar (8) a-na a-be-ga a-dī-in-ma (9) a-na a-lim<sup>ki</sup> a si-a-ma-tim (10) ú-si-bi-el-šú um-ma (11) <sup>d</sup>EN-ba-ni-ma (12) ki-na kasbam ma-aḥ-ri-a (13) ta-din-šú-um-ma (14) a-na Ma-nu-um-ba-lim-A-šur (15) mar E-na-ma-nim (16) ib-ku-zu-ma a-na a-lim<sup>ki</sup> (17) ú-bi-el-šú si-ma-am (18) iš-ú-mu-ni-kum a-ma (19) a-wi-lu a-ni-ú-tim lu si-bu-ga (20) ki-ma kasbam a-na a-be-a ta-din (21) maḥar Be-lim-ba-ni mar A-šír-be-el-a-wa-tim (22) maḥar A-šír-ba-ni mar Ku-ta-a (23) maḥar Ku-ku-lá-nim mar Ku-ta-a (24) maḥar Ili-ba-ni mar Ma-ni-a.

*Translation:* Ashur-rabi laid hold of Enlil-bani before us. Thus (spoke) Ashur-rabi to Enlil-bani: 10 minas of silver, its commission paid and its fee for assaying satisfied, silver of the merchant, I delivered to thy father and he sent it to the *alum* for evaluation. Thus (spoke) Enlil-bani: it is true; you gave him the silver in my presence, and he entrusted it to Manum-balim-Ashur son of Enamanim, and he carried it to the *alum*. The price they fixed for you. I wish these men to be your witnesses that you gave the silver to my father. Before Belim-bani son of Ashur-bel-awatim, before Ashur-bani son of Kutaia, before Kukulanim son of Kutaia, before Ili-bani son of Mania.

## LETTERS

Business letters represent the most numerous class of Capadocian tablets. They can be recognized at a glance by means of one of the two following formulas: (1) A . . . a-na B . . . ki-bi-ma um-ma, (2) Um-ma B . . . a-na A . . . ki-bi-ma. There may be one writer or a number; likewise the addressees may be one person or several. These were not mere casual letters designed to give information only, but

were intended as permanent records of the transactions mentioned in them. Four aspects of the business relations of the community are represented by the following groups of letters.

(1) Letters about goods sent to the commission merchant.

These letters state that a certain amount of goods which is described is being sent to the addressee by a certain person or persons. Request is made that the goods be exchanged for silver and that the silver be sent to the writer. It is to be observed that the writer places no price upon the goods, but turns them over to the commission merchant who is addressed, and who is to sell them for what he can. The writers are probably the producers of the goods. Bushukin is included in the names of the addressees of these letters. We conclude, then, that one at least of the Bushukins mentioned so often in Cappadocian tablets was a commission merchant.

#### BIN IV 81

*Contents:* This is a letter of Ashur-bel-awatim to Bushukin and Gimil-Ishtar, stating that he has sent to them a quantity of merchandise, and requesting that the silver for it be sent to him.

*Transliteration:* (1) a-na Bu-šú-ki-in (2) ù Gimil-Ištar ki-be-ma (3) um-ma A-šur-be-lá-wa-ti-ma (4) 1 TÚG Gimil-Ištar na-aš-a-ku-um (5) a-bi a-ta (6) mu-ḫu-ur-šú (7) 1 qa ri-iš-dam<sup>28</sup> (8) Gimil-Ištar na-aš-a-kum (9) 6 ma-na (10) anakam i-nu-me (11) ú-za-ni a-na (12) I-din-Ištar mar A-šur-ma-lik (13) a-dī-in-šú-ma (14) be-lu-a a-du-nu (15) kasbam šá dī-na-ma (16) si-be-lá-nim.

*Translation:* To Bushukin and Gimil-Ishtar speak: thus (says) Ashur-bel-awatim: 1 roll of cloth Gimil-Ishtar is bearing to you; my father art thou; receive it; 1 qa of first quality (oil) Gimil-Ishtar is bearing to you; 6 minas of lead, when he went forth, to Idin-Ishtar son of Ashur-malik I delivered. Ye are my lords; the silver for which they are sold, send to me.

#### BIN IV 12

*Contents:* This is a letter of Huzarum to Bushukin and Ena-Ashur stating that Gimil-Kubum is bringing them a consignment of lead and cloth. The following directions are given for



the disposition of the merchandise: as soon as it arrives and has been appraised and the usual fees deducted, the value in silver is to be sent to the writer; if the merchandise is sold the silver received for it is to be sealed and sent to the writer; if a certain other circumstance prevails, the merchandise is to be sent on to Burushatim and 1 mina of silver sent to the writer.

*Transliteration:* (1) a-na Bu-šú-ki-in (2) ù E-na-A-šír ki-bi-ma (3) um-ma Hu-za-ru-um-ma (4) anakam ù TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (5) šá si-ib<sup>30</sup> A-al-ṭabu (6) šá me-iḫ-ri šá lu-ku-tim (7) Gimil-Ku-bu-um na-aš-a-ku-ni (8) a-bi a-ta a-ma-kam (9) ma-lá anakum (10) ù TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (11) iz-ku-ú-ni (12) a-ta ù E-na-A-šur (13) ma-tî-ik ù wa-kib (14) dī-na-ma i-na (15) ba-nim-ma kasbam si-be-lá-nim (16) ù Gimil-Ku-ba-am (17) du-ur-da-ni-šú (18) šú-ma anakum ù TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (19) ta-ad-nu kasbam (20) ku-un-ga-ma (21) si-bi-lá-nim (22) šú-ma si-mu-um (23) a-ma-kam ma-tî-ik (24) a-na Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim (25) lu-ku-ti li-ti-iq-ma (26) kasbam 1 ma-na (27) li-li-a-am.

*Translation:* To Bushukin and Ena-Ashur speak: thus (says) Huzarum: the lead and the cloth of the invoice of Al-tabu which is a bill of the merchandise, Gimil-Kubum is bearing to you. My father art thou; as soon as the lead and the cloth are free from imposts, there do thou and Ena-Ashur . . . and at once send me the silver; even by Gimil-Kubum send it down to me. If you sell the lead and the cloth, the silver seal and send to me. If the price there . . . to Burušḫatim let my merchandise go and one mina of silver let him bring up to me.

#### BIN IV 24

*Contents:* This is a letter of Ashur-imeti and Gimil-Hubur to Bushukin, Amur-Shamash and Kurub-Ishtar, stating that Uzur-sha-Ashur will bring to them a consignment of lead and cloth. Instructions are given that the material is to be exchanged for silver when the carrier arrives in Burušḫatim and this silver is to be returned to the writers.

*Transliteration:* (1) um-ma A-šír-i-me-ti (2) ù Gimil-Hu-bur-ma (3) a-na Bu-šú-ki-in (4) A-mur-<sup>d</sup>Šamaš mar Me-šar-rabi (5) ù Kúr-ub-Ištar ki-bi-ma (6) 2 biltu 10 ma-na anakam ku-nu-ku (7) 10 ma-na anakam ga-tim (8) 4 TÚG šú-ru-tum

(9) li-wa-tum (10) 1 imeru za-la-mu-um (11) ù e-nu-um (12) me-ma a-nim (13) Ū-zur-šá-A-šur mar A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim (14) i-ra-dī-a-ku-nu-ti (15) šú-ma Ū-zur-šá-A-šír (16) a-na Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim (17) e-ra-ab anakam ù TÚG ḫi-tí-a (18) dī-na-šú-ma a-na Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim (19) lu-si-ri-ib-ma a-na kasbim (20) lu ta-ir-ma kasbam (21) i-na si-bi-šú lu-ub-lam.

*Translation:* Thus (say) Ashur-imeti and Gimil-Hubur: to Bushukin, Amur-Shamash son of Meshar-rabi and Kurub-Ishtar speak: 2 talents 10 minas of sealed lead, 10 minas of certified lead, 4 garments . . . 1 ass . . . , all this Uzur-sha-Ashur son of Ashur-bel-awatim will bring to you. When Uzur-sha-Ashur comes in to Burushatim, the lead and the garments judge for him and to Burushatim cause him to enter in, and for silver let him turn it over, and the silver with his invoice, let him bring to me.

(2) Reports concerning the disposal of goods.

Another class of transactions is represented by the following letters. In each of them the writer or writers are rendering account for the disposition they have made of certain quantities of merchandise. The Bushukin who is addressed in BIN IV, 27 is probably the same individual mentioned in the previous group of letters.

#### BIN IV 61

*Contents:* This is a letter of Lakibum and Ili-alim to Shalim-ahum. The writers have received a consignment of lead and linen and garments belonging to Shalim-ahum. Ili-ashrani was the carrier of the articles. A complete report of the disposition of these goods is the purpose of the letter. Lines 1-25 are occupied with the salutation and a statement of the balance of the three articles after the usual fees and taxes have been deducted. Some of each of the three items was sold on credit to Buzur-Ana son of Elani; his debt was covered by two tablets, one for 28 minas, due in 50 ḫamuštīm and one for 10 minas, due in 45 ḫamuštīm. Another portion was similarly disposed of to Idin-abum son of Idin-Ishtar. 8 rolls of linen and three garments were appraised for the writers; 5 rolls of linen were turned over to the temple; a certain number of rolls of linen (line 47) were appraised for the writers. For the

balance of the lead, linen and garments, which were not sold, Ili-ashrani was held responsible and his obligation was covered by two tablets which were made for  $10\frac{1}{3}$  minas and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of silver respectively. Interest at the usual rate of 30% was to be charged upon these sums.

*Transliteration:* (1) a-na Šá-lim-a-ḫi-im ki-be-ma (2) um-ma La-ki-bu-um ú Ī-lí-a-lim-ma (3) 6 biltu 30 ma-na anakam ku-nu-ki (4) 20 TÚG šú-ru-tum<sup>33</sup> ga-dī šá li-wa-tim (5) 85 TÚG ku-ta-ni šá a-na Ī-lí-aš-ra-ni (6) ta-dī-nu lib-ba  $4\frac{1}{4}$  TÚG ku-ta-ni (7) ù 1 šú-ra-am ni-iz-ḫa-tim<sup>25</sup> el-ki-ú (8) 2 šiqļu kasbam i-bu-ku 8 TÚG ku-ta-ni (9) iš-ra-tí-ga ê-gal-lim el-ki ù 2 šiqļu kasbam (10) ta-bu-ul si-tí<sup>32</sup> TÚG<sup>hi-tí</sup>-ga 73 lá  $\frac{1}{4}$  TÚG ku-ta-nu (11) 1 TÚG šú-ra-am a-na iš-ra-tim (12) el-ki-ú 3 šiqļu kasbam i-bu-lu (13) si-tí šú-ru-tí-ga 20 lá 2 TÚG ga-dī (14) šá li-wa-tim i-na 6 biltu 30 ma-na (15) anaki(-ki)-ga 12 ma-na anakam (16) ni-iz-ḫa-tim el-ki-ú  $9\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na (17) mu-ta-ú 6  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na anakam (18) <sup>d</sup>Ili-abrat-bani el-ki (19) a-na-kam lá[-] šá áb iš-du (20) 50 ma-na 5 šiqļu anak(-ak) ga-tí-šú (21) 4 qa ri-iš-dam  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na anakam (22) ù 5 šiqļu kasbam šá a-na A-bi-dī-ba-an (23) du-si-be-lá šú[-]kam-ru 9 ma-na anakam (24) a-na Ī-lí-aš-ra-ni ni-bu-ul (25) si-tí anaki(-ki)-ga 5 biltu 53 ma-na anakum (26) lib-ba 3 biltu lá 1 ma-na anakam (27) 7 šiqļu ta 29 TÚG ku-ta-ni  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na ta (28) 10 TÚG šú-ru-tum 15 šiqļu ta napḫar kasbe(-be)-ga (29) 38 ma-na  $4\frac{1}{4}$  šiqļu Buzúr-A-na (30) mar E-la-ni i-ki-ib (31) lib-ba 30 lá 2 ma-na a-na 50 ḫa-am-šá-tim (32) i-šá-gal 10 ma-na  $4\frac{1}{4}$  šiqļu (33) a-na 45 ḫa-am-šá-tim i-šá-gal (34) 2 biltu 14 ma-na 10 šiqļu anakam (35) 7 šiqļu ta 20 TÚG ku-ta-ni  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na ta (36) 4 TÚG šú-ru-tum 15 šiqļu ta (37) 1 imerum za-la-mu-um<sup>16</sup> ki-ma  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na (38) a-na  $30\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na AZAG a-na 47 ḫa-am-šá-tim (39) I-din-a-ba-am mar I-din-Ištar (40) i-ki-ib û-mu-šú-nu war-ḫum<sup>kam</sup> (41) šá Ki-na-tim li-mu-um (42) Šú-da-a mar En-na-nim 8 TÚG ku-ta-ni (43) ú 3 TÚG šú-ru-tum i-dī-in ni-a-tí (44) 5 TÚG ku-ta-ni wa-ad-ru-tim<sup>39</sup> (45) ê-gal-lim a-na si-me-im el-ki-ma (46)  $1\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na i-na ni-ga-zi<sup>24</sup> (47) ni-šá-ga-an ki-ma 3(?) TÚG ku-ta-ni (48)  $7\frac{1}{2}$  šiqļu lá  $6\frac{1}{2}$  še ḫurazam 5 šiqļu kasbam (49) i-dī-in-ni-a-tí si-tí TÚG ku-ta-ni-ga (50) 17 TÚG ù 1 TÚG šú-ru-um kasab(-ab)-šú-nu (51)  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na ta ù 10 šiqļu kasbam (52) šá šú-ri-im  $5\frac{5}{6}$  ma-na (53) si-ti anaki(-ki)-ga



40 ma-na lá 10 šiqu (54) kasab(-áb)-šú 5 ma-na (55) lu šá si-tí TÚG ku-ta-ni (56) ù šú-ri-im lu šá si-tí (57) anaki(-ki)-ga 10  $\frac{5}{6}$  ma-na kasbam (58) za-ru-ba-am i li-be (59) Ī-lí-aš-ra-ni (60) iš-tí-in dub-bu-šú (61) šá 10 $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na kasbim (62) ú a-ḫa-ma (63) šá  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na kasbim (64) la-be-it warḫum 1<sup>kam</sup> (65) Ku-zal-li li-mu-um (66) Šú-da-a mar E-na-nim (67) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu ta (68) i-na warḫim 1<sup>kam</sup> a-na (69) 1 ma-na-im ú-za-áb (70) 5 imere<sup>zun</sup> šá si-ib (71) Ī-lí-aš-ra-ni me-du.

*Translation:* To Shalim-ahum speak: thus (say) Lakibum and Ili-alim: there were 6 talents, 30 minas of sealed lead, 20 *šurutum* . . . 85 rolls of linen which you delivered to Ili-ashrani. From these, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  rolls of linen and 1 *šurutum* were taken as commission; 2 shekels of silver . . . ; 8 rolls of linen as thy tithe the temple took; and 2 shekels of silver . . . The balance of thy cloth is 72 $\frac{3}{4}$  rolls of linen. One *šurutum* for tithes was taken; 3 shekels of silver . . . The balance of thy *šurutum* is 18 . . . From the 6 talents, 30 minas of thy lead, 12 minas of lead were taken for commission; 9 $\frac{2}{3}$  minas . . . 6 $\frac{1}{3}$  minas of lead Ilabrat-bani took. Here he does not . . . From 50 minas, 5 shekels of lead, to his credit, 4 qa of first quality (oil);  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina of lead and 5 shekels of silver which you sent to Abidiban. . . . A total of 9 minas of lead to Ili-ashrani we transferred. The balance of thy lead is 5 talents, 53 minas of lead. From these (net balances) 3 talents, less 1 mina of lead, at the exchange rate of 7 shekels, 20 rolls of linen at  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina each, and 10 *šurutum* at 15 shekels each, Buzur-Ana son of Elani bought on credit; the total of thy silver (for these) is 38 minas, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  shekels. Of this amount, 28 minas, after 50 ḫamuštim he shall pay. Two talents, 14 minas, 10 shekels of lead, at the exchange rate of 7 shekels, 20 rolls of linen at  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina each, 4 *šurutum* at 15 shekels each, and 1 ass at  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina, for (a total of) 30 $\frac{2}{3}$  minas of silver, for 47 ḫamuštim, Idin-abum son of Idin-Ishtar took out on credit. Their time (to pay) is the month of Kinatim, the eponymy of Shudaia son of Ennanim. Eight rolls of linen and 3 *šurutum* he delivered to us. Five rolls of linen surplus (?), the temple took for sale (?). We placed in the treasury (?) 1 $\frac{2}{3}$  mina. As for the 3(?) rolls of linen, he appraised (them) for us at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  shekels less 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  še of gold and 5 shekels of silver. The

balance of thy linen is 17 rolls and 1 *šurutum*; their silver at  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina each and 10 shekels of silver for the *šurutum* is  $5\frac{5}{6}$  minas. The balance of thy lead is 40 minas less 10 shekels; its silver is 5 minas. Both for the balance of thy linen and *šurutum* and for the balance of thy lead  $10\frac{5}{6}$  minas of refined silver is due from Ili-ashrani. One of his tablets for  $10\frac{1}{3}$  minas of silver and the other for  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of silver lay up; the month of Kuzallim, the eponymy of Shudaia son of Enanim. At the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shekels per month, per mina he shall pay interest. Five asses of the invoice of Ili-ashrani have died (?).

#### BIN IV 27

*Contents:* This is a letter of Alaḥum, Imtilim and Buzur-Ashur to Shalim-aḥum and Bushukin. Three different individuals, Hurazanim, Amur-Ashur and Adad-bani, entrusted lots of merchandise, including lead, linen, garments and asses, to the writers. The usual fees have been taken out and the balance of the merchandise which was the property of Shalim-aḥum and Bushukin was distributed to the *damkar* in five different lots. In each case the lot was evaluated in terms of silver and the time set for payment.

*Transliteration:* (1) a-na Šá-lim-a-ḥi-im (2) ù Bu-šú-ki-in ki-bi-ma (3) um-ma A-la-ḥu-um-ma (4) Im-tí-lim ù Buzúr-A-šír-ma (5) 2 biltu 6 ma-na anakam (6) 32 TÚG ga-tum šá li-wa-tim (7) 2 imere za-lá-me-in<sup>16</sup> (8) Ḥu-ra-za-nim ib-ki-id-ni-a-tí-ma (9) 2 biltu 10 ma-na anakam  $30\frac{1}{2}$  ku-ta-ni<sup>21</sup> (10) 4 šú-ru-tim 2 imere za-lá-me (11) A-mur-A-šír ib-ki-id-ni-a-tí-ma (12) 23 ku-ta-ni 2 imere za-lá-ma-am (13) <sup>d</sup>Adad-ba-ni ib-ki-id-ni-a-tí-ma (14) i-na 4 biltu 16 ma-na anaki(-ki)-ma(?) (15) 8 ma-na ni-iz-ḥa-tum (16) 9 ma-na  $3\frac{1}{3}$  šiqu a-na (17) <sup>d</sup>Adad-ba-ni ni-bu-ul (18)  $1\frac{5}{6}$  ma-na a-na Ḥu-ra-za-nim (19) ni-bu-ul  $13\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na  $5\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (20) mu-ta-ú si-tí anaki(-ki)-ga (21) 3 biltu  $43\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na (22)  $85\frac{1}{2}$  ku-ta-nu 4 šú-ru-tum (23) 5 imere za-lá-mu iz-ku-ú-nim (24) lib-ba 2 biltu anakam 32 ku-ta-ni (25) 10 šiqu ta anakim 15 šiqu ta ku-ta-ni (26) 20 ma-na kasbam a-na 25 ḥa-am-šá-tim (27) i zi-ir dam-gar ni-din 1 biltu anakam (28) 16 ku-ta-ni 10 ma-na kasbam i zi-ir dam-gar ni-din  $43\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na anakam (30) 17 TÚG ku-ta-ni 2 imere  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na 5 šiqu (31) i zi-ir dam-gar ni-din 2 imere (32) 1 ma-na

kasbam i zi-ir dam-gar ni-din (33) 1 wa-ni-ba a-na  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na i zi-ir (34) dam-gar ni-din a-na 3 biltu  $43\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na (35) anakim 65 TÚG ù 5 imere  $40\frac{5}{6}$  ma-na 5 kasbam za-ru-ba-am (36) i zi-ir dam-gar ki-nu-tim lá ta ta šá hu du a-na (37) 25 ha-am-šá-tim na-din warhum<sup>kam</sup> Áb-šá-ra-ni li-mu-um (38) Bu-zu-zu 8 (?) a ga tí ig ni-din kasab(-áb)-šú-nu a ga-tí (39) (?) ru šú-ru-um a-na si-tí TÚG<sup>din</sup>-ga  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ku-ta-nu (40) 3 šú- . . .

*Translation:* To Shalim-aḥum and Bushukin speak: thus (say) Alahum, Imtilim and Buzur-Ashur: two talents, 6 minas of lead, 32 garments . . . , 2 ass loads, Hurazanim entrusted to us; 2 talents, 10 minas of lead,  $30\frac{1}{2}$  rolls of linen, 4 *šurutum*, 2 ass loads, Amur-Ashur entrusted to us; 23 rolls of linen, 2 ass loads, Adad-bani entrusted to us. From the 4 talents, 16 minas of thy lead 8 minas are commission; 9 minas,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  shekels, to Adad-bani we transferred;  $1\frac{5}{6}$  minas to Hurazanim we transferred;  $12\frac{2}{3}$  minas,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  shekels *mutau*. The balance of thy lead, 3 talents,  $43\frac{1}{3}$  minas,  $85\frac{1}{2}$  rolls of linen, 4 *šurutum* and 5 asses are free from obligation. From this, 2 talents of lead at the exchange rate of 10 shekels and 32 rolls of linen at 15 shekels each, we delivered to the merchant, for a consideration of 20 minas of silver, to be paid after 25 *hamuštim*. One talent of lead and 16 rolls of linen, we delivered to the merchant, for which 10 minas of silver are to be paid (by him).  $43\frac{1}{3}$  minas of lead, 17 rolls of linen and 2 asses we delivered to the merchant, for which  $9\frac{1}{2}$  minas, 5 shekels are to be paid (by him). Two asses we delivered to the merchant for which 1 mina of silver is to be paid (by him). One *waniba* we delivered to the merchant for which  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina is to be paid (by him). For 3 talents,  $43\frac{1}{3}$  minas of lead, 65 rolls of linen and 5 asses delivered to the merchant  $40\frac{5}{6}$  minas, 5 shekels of refined silver are due . . . after 25 *hamuštim*. The month of Absharani, the eponymy of Buzuzu . . .

(3) Acknowledgement of the receipt of goods.

These letters form another part of the documents involved in the trading business. In BIN IV, 46, Buzur-Ashur appears to be the buyer who has bought something from Gimil-belim for which he has paid  $37\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of silver. This amount has been forwarded in the hands of Ashur-malik, who has failed to deliver the whole amount. This fact is the occasion for the



letter. In BIN IV, 44, Aḫ-shalim is the buyer who acknowledges the receipt of the lead and offers a price for it. BIN IV, 80 states that 25 garments have been received, and reports the price for which they have been sold. The disposition that has been made of the money is also given.

#### BIN IV 46

*Transliteration:* (1) a-na Buzúr-A-šur (2) ki-be-ma um-ma (3) Gimil-be-lim-ma i-na (4)  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na  $7\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (5) kasbim šá A-šur-ma-lik (6) ta-áb-ki-da-ni (7)  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na  $\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (8) i-din-nam 7 šiqu (9) ú-lá i-din-nam (10) um-ma šú-ut-ma (11) a-na zi-ti-šú<sup>42</sup> (12) šá-ku-ul.

*Translation:* To Buzur-Ashur speak: thus (says) Gimil-belim: of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina, 7 shekels of silver which with Ashur-malik you deposited for me, he has paid me  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina,  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel; 7 shekels he has not paid me. Thus he (spoke): as regards his balance it was paid.

#### BIN IV 44

*Transliteration:* (1) a-na Buzúr-A-šír (2) ki-bi-ma um-ma (3) Aḫ-šá-lim-ma (4) 6 biltu anakam (5) I-ku-bi-a (6) ub-lam si-im (7) anakim i-na (8) Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim (9) ni-iš-ta-na-me (10) al-kam-ma ma-lá (11) e-bu-ri-šú-nu (probably a scribal error for e-ri-bu-šú-nu) (12) anaki-ga a-bu-uk-ma (13) kasbam 1 šiqu (14) ta šá biltim.

*Translation:* To Buzur-Ashur speak: thus (says) Aḫ-shalim: Six talents of lead Ikubia brought to me. The price of lead in Buruḫhatim we have determined. Come! Whenever they come in I will buy thy lead at 1 shekel of silver per talent.

#### BIN IV 80

*Transliteration:* (1) um-ma Bu-šú-ki-in-ma a-na (2) Wa-al-ti-Ili ù A-ba-a-a (3) ki-be-ma a-na Wa-al-ti-Ili ki-bi-ma 25 TÚG<sup>zun</sup> (4) I-din-A-bu-um ub-lam (5)  $7\frac{1}{4}$  šiqu ta kasab(-ab)-šú-nu (6) 3 ma-na  $1\frac{1}{4}$  šiqu lib-ba (7)  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na kasbam I-din-A-bu-um (8) [ub]-lá-ku-um 5 šiqu kasbam (9) [a] ga-ti I-din-A-be-im (10) a-di-in 1 ma-na 10 šiqu kasbam (11) a-na Buzúr-ú-tu (12) [a-di]-in (13) [si-ti kasbe(-be)]-ga (14) 1 ma-na  $10\frac{1}{4}$  šiqu kasbam (three lines broken).

*Translation:* Thus (says) Bushukin: to Walti-Ili and Abaia speak: to Walti-Ili speak: 25 garments, Idin-Abum brought me. At  $7\frac{1}{4}$  shekels each, the silver for them is 3 minas,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  shekels. Of this,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of silver Idin-Abum will bring to you; 5 shekels of silver, I placed at the disposal of Idin-Abum; 1 mina, 10 shekels of silver, I gave to Buzur-utu. The balance of thy silver is 1 mina,  $16\frac{1}{4}$  shekels of silver.

This tablet is valuable because it furnishes evidence that the reading  $\frac{1}{4}$  for the unusual sign in lines 5-6 is correct; 25 garments at  $7\frac{1}{4}$  shekels each would bring exactly 3 minas,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  shekels as stated in line 6. See my "Cappadocian Notes" in JAOS, June 1926.

(4) Letters about the collection of debts.

#### BIN IV 26

*Contents:* This is a letter of Shalim-aḥum to Lakib and Bushukin, stating that the writer holds negotiable bonds on which payment is due, totaling 2 talents, 58 minas, 1 shekel of silver. A partial payment has been made upon this indebtedness, totaling 2 talents, 27 minas, 18 shekels. The writer does not desire interest upon the balance but wishes the principal paid at once. Previous correspondence has been carried on with reference to the matter; Lakib and Bushukin have promised to instruct Hinaia, one of their associates, to pay the debts. This, Hinaia has evidently done to the extent mentioned above. The writer now asks that Hinaia be told to forward the balance.

*Transliteration:* (1) um-ma Šá-lim-a-ḥu-um-ma (2) a-na La-ki-ib ú Bu-šú-ki-in (3) ki-be-ma  $54\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na  $5\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (4) kasbim ša si-ib Aḥ-šá-lim (5) šá a ū-me ku-ur-bu-tim (6) ta-ki-ba-ni 58 ma-na  $18\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (7) šá si-ib Bu-šú-ki-in (8)  $28\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na 7 šiqu (9) šá Lu-lu-u mar Zu-ku-ḥi-im (10)  $31\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na šá i-na (11) Du-ur-ḥu-me-it (12) A-šír-Šamši(-ši) ú Hi-na-a i-ki-bu-ni (13) 5 ma-na šá A-mur-Ištar šá anaki(-ki)-a (14) ta-aš-bu-ra-nim um-ma a-du-nu (15) Hi-na-a i-šá-ga-al-šú (16) ú tí-ir-tí-ni a-na Hi-na-a (17) i-ta-lá-ak napḥar 2 biltu 58 ma-na 1 šiqu (18) lib 31 ma-na 15 šiqu (19)  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na šá-du-a-zu (20) Gimil-Sin ú Mar-Gimil-A-šír (21) ub-lu-nim  $20\frac{5}{6}$  ma-na (22)  $\frac{1}{3}$  ma-na šá-du-a-zu (23) Mar-E-ra-a ub-lam (24) 31 ma-na 15 šiqu  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na (25) šá-du-a-zu 2 ma-na (26) a-ḥa-ma me-iḥ-

ra-at ik-dī-šú (27) Dan-A-šír ub-lam (28)  $41\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na  $\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na šá-du-a-zu (29) Ī-lí-a-lim ub-lam 18 ma-na 18 šiqu (30) Kúr-ub-Ištar ub-lam (31) napḥar 2 biltu 27 ma-na 18 šiqu (32) kasbim šá ub-lu-ni-ni si-tî kasbim (33)  $30\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na 3 šiqu (34) šá ū-mu-šú e-tî-ku-nu (35) zi-ib-dam lá ta-šá-me-a (36) kasbam šá-aš-ki-lá-ma i ba-nim-ma (37) si-be-lá-nim ú a zi-ir (38) Ĥi-na-a šú-ub-ra-ma kasbam (39) šá-aš-ra-kam-ma i-ki-bu-ni (40) lu-si-be-lam i-na dub-be ma-nu (41)  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na  $5\frac{2}{3}$  šiqu (42) kasbam šá si-ib Aḥ-šá-lim (43) a-na ū-me ba-ti-ú-tim<sup>5</sup> (44) i zi-ir dam-gar-ri (45) na-din 31 ma-na  $18\frac{1}{2}$  šiqu (46) šá si-ib A-šír-mu-ta-be-el ú Nu-ur-Ištar šú-ma (47) ū-mu-šú-nu ma-al-ú AZAG šá šú-ki-lá-ma i ba-nim-ma (48) si-be-lá-nim kasbam šá Ī-lí-a-lim ú Kúr-ub-Ištar ub-lu-ni-ni (49) me-šú-um<sup>22</sup> dub-bu-um ik-be-da ku-nu-tî-ma lá du-si-be-lá-nim.

*Translation:* Thus (says) Shalim-aḥum: to Lakib and Bushukin speak: Concerning  $54\frac{2}{3}$  minas,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of silver of the document of Aḥ-shalim, which at the time of the loan you put out on credit, 58 minas,  $18\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of the document of Bushukin,  $28\frac{1}{3}$  minas, 7 shekels of Lulu son of Zukūḥim,  $31\frac{1}{2}$  minas which in Dur-ḥumit, Ashur-Shamshi and Ĥinaia took out on credit, 5 minas of Amur-Ishtar for my lead, you wrote to me; thus you spoke: Ĥinaia shall pay it and our order to Ĥinaia shall go. The total is 2 talents, 58 minas, 1 shekel. Of this amount, Gimil-Sin and Mar-Gimil-Ashur brought me 31 minas, 15 shekels and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina for the fee for assaying; Mar-Eraia brought me  $20\frac{5}{6}$  minas, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina for the fee for assaying; Dan-Ashur brought me 31 minas, 15 shekels and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina for the fee for assaying, 2 minas . . . ; Ili-alim brought me  $41\frac{2}{3}$  minas and  $\frac{2}{3}$  mina for the fee for assaying; Kurub-Ishtar brought me 18 minas, 18 shekels; the total which they brought me is 2 talents, 27 minas, 18 shekels of silver. For the rest of the silver, for which the time for payment has arrived, you shall not yield the interest, but weigh out the silver and send it to me at once; and write to Ĥinaia that the silver which I loaned and they put out on credit, he must send to me. From the tablets reckon  $6\frac{1}{2}$  minas,  $5\frac{2}{3}$  shekels of silver of the document of Aḥ-shalim to be given to the merchant at the time of opening. 31 minas,  $18\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of the document of Ashur-mutabel and Nur-Ishtar,



when their time is completed and the silver is weighed, send it to me at once. For the silver which Ili-alim and Kurub-Ishtar brought me a duplicated(?) tablet . . . for you and do not send to me.

## NOTES

1. *a-lim<sup>ki</sup>* BIN. IV, 127:8. Three explanations of the signs here read *a-lim<sup>ki</sup>*, have been offered. Contenau. (TC. 58) reads *a-ši-ki* and regards it as the name of some kind of official. Smith (CCT I, 8) says, "Though Ashur is only named once, it is probable that 'the city,' *a-lim KI*, i. e., the capital city, constantly mentioned is Ashur." Presumably the one mention of the city of Ashur to which he refers is the passage, CCT I, 37a:21-23, *a-na si-a-ma-tim a-na a-lim<sup>ki</sup> dA-šur u-bi-el*. Cf. LTC. IV, 5:11, *i-na a-lim<sup>ki</sup> A-šír ma-ga-ra-am*, etc. Contenau is probably mistaken in reading *A-šír-ma-ga-ra-am* as a name, in which case we would have here another possible mention of the city of Ashur. The third explanation to be considered is that of Lewy, (SATK, 16, note 28,) who states on the basis of texts LTC. IV, 95, 96 and CCT, 49b, that the city designated simply *a-lim<sup>ki</sup>*, must be Burušhatim. His reasoning is not conclusive, and more adequate proof must be awaited before accepting this view. Lewy also seems to hold that *alum* refers to some constituted authority. It is not impossible that in some instances such as those cited above the phrase may refer to the city of Ashur, but it is also evident from the passage cited below that it was sometimes used in the sense of a council of elders. Its relation to the *Garum* is not clear.

BIN. IV, 152:5, 11. If this were the only reference to the word *alum* it would be natural to infer that it represented a certain city. But it is probably used in the same sense here as elsewhere.

BIN. IV, 103:35. Here the term is undoubtedly used in the sense of "the elders of the city."

2. *anak(ak) ga-tim*, BIN. IV, 29:16. That "*ag-ga-tim*" is not a word, but that the syllable *ag (ak)* is to be considered a phonetic complement showing the pronunciation of the ideogram *AN.NA*, is proved by LC. 241:line 4, *šá a-na zi-ir*

*anak(-ak)*, line 5 *ga-tim*, etc. If *ag-ga-tim* were one word it would not be divided between the two lines in this way, but the remainder of the word would be written on the right hand end of the next line. This explains Contenau's difficulty with a word divider in the middle of a word (TC. p. 14); his case is only another example of the phrase *anak(-ak) ga-tim*, with the word divider between the phonetic complement and the word *ga-tim*.

3. *ar-nu-um*, BIN. IV, 29:39. This is a word appearing frequently in Old Babylonian legal texts, with the meaning "penalty"; cf. *Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien*, Heft 3, 1922, p. 56, and Schorr, VAB 5, 350. It is a forfeit which a person binds himself to pay in case of failure to fulfill obligations. In this case it may be a fine imposed for leaving merchandise too long in the store house.

4. *a-wi-id-ga*, BIN. IV, 29:3. This is apparently some material which was measured in talents; its price in this case (line 4) is given at  $5\frac{2}{3}$  minas, 5 shekels. Cf. M-A 63b, *imittu* 2.

5. *ba-lî-û-tim*, BIN. IV, 26:43. It is derived from the root *pitû*, to open, and refers to the opening of the cases of the tablets mentioned in this letter.

6. *batrim*, BIN. IV, 109:16. This reading is adopted from Dr. Lewy's explanation of the hitherto unrecognized sign, appearing in this line and frequently where this formula occurs. See SATK 16, note 31, and 67g.

7. *bi-ri-ga-nu*, BIN. IV, 117:1. It is read by Contenau as a personal name (LTC IV, p. 10), but appears here with the determinative for garments. It is also to be read as a garment in the passages cited by Contenau.

8. *bît ga-ri-im*, was certainly connected with the *garum*. This phrase means "store-house" in known Babylonian texts. The *garum* was doubtless an assembly of the merchants of the town, which not only decided in cases of disputes between these business people of Cappadocia, but furnished a sort of municipal store-house for their wares. Articles which were not sold at once in the market place could be stored in the *bît garim*. One of the Yale letters seems to show that rent was sometimes charged for storage in the *bît garim*. Cf. BIN. IV, 29:39.

9. *du-ga-al*, BIN. IV, 109:6. This, *ú-ga-al* (line 9) and *du-ga-lá-ni* (line 12) are all from the root *kālu*, to hold or carry. For the translation here cf. SATK 56c.

10. *ga-ru-um*, *passim*. The older translators of Cappadocian tablets have unhesitatingly rendered this word as "judge." Contenau and Smith, the compilers of the recent volumes of Cappadocian texts, have retained the idea of an individual, some sort of official, as representing the Garum. Contenau in his *Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes*, p. 73f, regards the Garum as a prefect. In this he is following Sayce in his article published the year before in the *Museum Journal*. The expression *ga-ru-um . . . za-ḫi-ir rabu*, Contenau regards as meaning the supreme prefect, prefect of the great and small. Smith in CCT I, p. 9f. holds that the Garum was a local town official who was in charge of the *bit garim* which was a storehouse and which had a standard weight. This, he further holds, was the official after whom the period of time called a *ḫamuštim* was named. Since there are often two names appearing after the *ḫamuštim*, he concluded that there were often two Garim. Lewy in SATK, 16, 32, and OLZ 1923, 537, note 4, holds that the Garum is to be compared with the *KAR Sippar*, discussed by Walther, LSS VI, 4-6, 70ff. He understands the term to mean a council of elders who constitute the city authority. This view was discussed by Landsberger in ZA 35, 233ff, who takes the position that Garum refers not to a council of elders but to the Colony itself.

Let us now consider the data furnished by the Cappadocian tablets with reference to the Garum. We are led to the conclusion that the Garum could not have consisted of a single official but that Lewy is probably right in holding it to be a council. In the cases where the Garum renders a decision it is often stated in the formula that it was the *ga-ru-um Ga-ni-iš za-ḫi-ir rabu*. Lewy has explained the phrase *za-ḫi-ir rabu* as indicating that the decision was unanimous, that is all the members of the Garum, small and great, concurred in the decision. This explanation appears quite satisfactory until we find the phrase used in a slightly different way in BIN IV, 103. The subject of this tablet is some documents which were sealed by the Garum of Ganish *za-ḫi-ir rabu*. Three times



the phrase is repeated in the tablets and then a fourth time the phrase *za-ḫi-ir rabu* is used without the preceding *ga-ru-um Ga-ni-iš'* (line 30) and used in the same kind of construction in which the whole phrase was used before. Now if *zaḫir rabu* is merely an adverbial phrase qualifying the action of the Garum we might expect the scribe to grow tired of writing the whole formula so many times and omit the adverbial part, but instead he omits the words *ga-ru-um Ga-ni-iš'*, and allows simply *za-ḫi-ir rabu* to stand in its place. From this we may conjecture that *za-ḫi-ir rabu* was a technical term which could be used to denote the same thing as Garum. It may have obtained its technical sense, not from the unanimity of the decision of the Garum but from the way in which the body was constituted. Possibly the *za-ḫi-ir rabu* corresponds to the upper and lower houses of our legislative bodies. Sometimes the phrase is written ideographically *TUR.GAL*. Cf. CCT I, 49a:10. This suggests that this ideogram in the unpublished text (CBS 4051) discussed by Sayce in the Museum Journal, June 1918, may refer to the Garum and not to the "older son" as he suggests.

Another function of the Garum is found in the oft repeated phrase in the contract literature, *a-na a-wa-at ga-ri-im zi-ib-tam ú-za-áb*, according to the word of the Garum, interest he shall add. This was in case the debtor had failed to pay at the date specified. This indicates that the Garum entered into business relations and that the interest rate which it recognized was considered as standard. That the Garum was not exclusively a judicial body is indicated by the tablet of the British Museum, CCT I, 4. Here we have the record of two loans made to the Garum by Enlil-bani. These passages are of interest because wherever the Garum is made the subject of the verb, the verb is plural; cf. SATK, 16, note 32. This is significant because in the contracts a regular formula is adhered to, and when the debtors are more than one a plural verb is always used. Moreover, in this very tablet there are records of several different loans; some of them are to one individual, in which case the verbs are singular; some of them are to groups of individuals, when the verbs are plural. It is stated in the second of these loans to the Garum that certain

men whose names are given, the representatives of the Garum, received the money. These facts strengthen the conclusion to which we have come, namely that the Garum was a body of men and not an individual. Occasionally we find a letter from the Garum or one addressed to it; cf. Babyl., VI, 191, 7. In these letters the pronouns which refer to the Garum are always in the plural. The unpublished text of the University of Pennsylvania CBS 5681 and 5680 on which Sayce, in the Museum Journal, June 1918, bases his conclusion that there was also a "prefectess," furnish examples of this plural pronoun referring to the Garum. Sayce's conclusions about the "prefectess" are based upon mistaken readings of the texts. His *ga-ru-tim* is probably *Bi-ru-tim*. Babyl., VI, 187, 18 furnishes another example of the plural verb with the Garum.

11. *ga-tum*, BIN IV, 4:6. The exact significance of this word is not clear. Its meaning is doubtless to be derived from *gatu*, hand. It is perhaps most often used in connection with a word for metal, but here is used with garments. That it implies some act of authorization is indicated by the phrase *i kasbim ga-ti šá-ag-na-at*, on the silver my hand was laid, BIN IV, 155:14, and *i-na kasbim ga-tum A-šur-tak-lá-ku mar A-lá-ḫi-im šá-ag-na-at*, on the silver the hand of Ashur-tak-laku, son of Alahum was laid, BIN IV, 127:14. Smith (CCT I, p. 8) implies that the word is to be practically identified with *ku-nu-ki*, "of the seal"; this must be modified in the light of the passage, *3 biltu 15 ma-na anakum ku-nu-ku 22½ ma-na a-na anakim ga-tim*, BIN IV, 30:18-19, where the two kinds of lead seem to be contrasted.

12. *ḫa-ar-ma-am*, BIN IV, 147:12. The phrase *dub-ba-am ḫa-ar-ma-am* is regarded by Lewy (SATK, 59, note e) as a tablet rendered invalid. In the light of its use in BIN IV, 152, an invalid tablet does not seem to fit the circumstances. The word *ḫa-ar-ma-am* is probably not Assyrian, but is derived from the West Semitic values of the root *ḫaram*, to make sacred, or to pronounce inviolable, cf. BDB Lexicon, 355b. It signifies a tablet whose facts were guaranteed by oath. Smith (CCT I, p. 12) refers to them as "sworn tablets." The only Cappadocian tablets which are known, which are of an especially binding or legal character are those called by Smith

"Abstracts of Legal Cases," but which really seem to be affidavits, and are so named in BIN IV. The importance attached to tablets designated *ḥa-ar-ma-am*, frequently mentioned in letters and contracts, is not in harmony with the idea of "invalid tablets," which would then be of no importance. Such importance could well attach to these so called "affidavits" which were executed before the Garum on solemn oath. We may reasonably conjecture, then, that the Cappadocian name for such tablets was *dubbum ḥarum*.

13. *ib-ki-zu-ma*, BIN IV, 108:16. The full form would be *ib-ki-it-šú-ma*; with the usual assimilation of the *t* before the sibilant we get the form we have here.

14. *i li-bi*, BIN IV, 121:2. For the usual *i zi-ir*, the scribe here has written *i li-bi*. Both phrases are equivalent to *ina eli* or *ina muḫḫi*, upon, to the debit of, or, to be paid by, so often used in Babylonian contracts. The phrase *i li-bi* occurs in CCT I, 46a:9, 17; 46b:6, 11, where Lewy translates, "to the credit of" (SATK, 66). But in these and the other passages which he there cites, "to the debit of" is a better rendering. The latter meaning is established by its use in this passage.

15. *i-lu-ki*, BIN IV, 168:17. Cf. *Illuku*, state garments, M-A 45b.

16. *imeru za-lá-mu*, BIN IV, 27:7, 10, 23, 30, 31, 35. In lines 34-35 we have the totals of the items of merchandise loaned out and the silver to be paid for them. The figures check exactly. It is to be noted that here, as well as in lines 30-31, we have the *imeru* sign without the usual *zalamu* following; yet the number is the same (5) as the *imeru zalamu* mentioned in lines 7, 10, and 12. The probable situation involved in these facts is that the merchandise mentioned in this text was sent on the backs of five asses; when it was sold the asses were also sold. The phrase *imeru zalamu* probably means the ass loaded with merchandise, and when the animal itself is to be mentioned *zalamu* is omitted.

BIN IV, 61:37. The obvious translation of this term is "black asses," cf. TC. 63. But it is disconcerting to find  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the creatures mentioned; cf. BIN IV, 30:22. Unless one supposes that the animal was being used for food *imeru* in this



passage means a unit of measure and not an animal. Yet even in this passage actual asses seem to be implied, for the following lines speak of their harness and their food. Are we to suppose that in this case there were two asses and one of them was only half loaded? The term may have both the meanings ass and ass-load. *Zalamu* is probably from *šalmu*, dark colored; the passage CCT I, 17b:20, *imeram šá-al-ma-am*, might suggest the root *šalamu*, in which case we might translate, full ass-loads, but this variant is more probably to be explained by the constant shifting of sibilants in the language. It must be observed that *zalamu* is also applied to copper; cf. BIN IV, 31:14.

17. *i-mu-a*, BIN IV, 6:14. Dr. Lewy has called attention to the Cappadocian use of this root in the sense of "be willing." Cf. ZA, 36, 151. This meaning of the root is not normal in Assyro-Babylonian, but is probably a West Semitic meaning. Cf. Hebrew *abah*, to incline, desire.

18. *iš-ku-lá-ni-šú*, BIN IV, 140:4. The indirect object of the verb is expressed in *ni*, cf. SATK, 13. The *šú* is the direct object of the verb, superfluous in English in this kind of a relative sentence, but a rather frequent construction in Semitic. The two suffixes on one verb are interesting.

19. *it-bu-lu*, BIN IV, 30:22, 117:4, LTC IV, 47:8, CCT I, 39b:5. A conjectural explanation of this form is that it is from a root *tapalu*, a secondary formation from *apalu*, to answer. Cf. *tabalu* from *abalu* M-A 1143b. It is used in Cappadocian in giving the value of an article in trade; it has the idea of being equal to.

20. *iz-ba-at-ni-a-ti-ma*. This expression is a regular part of the opening formula of the "legal documents." The formula is preceded by the names of the parties to the action. Smith in CCT I, p. 17, reads the last word of this expression *ni-a-din-ma*, and translates the whole formula as, "X and Y brought a case, or X brought a case against Y." Lewy has correctly transliterated the formula (SATK, p. 61ff) and has improved the translation with "A . . . hat uns gegen I . . . gefasst." Neither of these translations exactly represent the sense of the phrase, as the following facts will show. *Iz-ba-at* is a word used in a technical sense in Old Babylonian lawsuits;

cf. Schorr VAB 5, 549, and *Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien* Heft 3, p. 12ff. There it refers to the seizing of one person by another, usually for debt; here it is used in the more general sense of filing suit against one for any purpose. The crucial point is with reference to the word *ni-a-tî-ma*. In view of the fact that *ni-a-tî* appears rather frequently elsewhere as the suffix of the first person plural pronoun (BIN IV, 27:8, 11, 13/61:43/106:8) it seems best so to render it here. The question is whether *ni-a-tî* is Accusative or Dative; in form it might be either. The unpublished tablet CBS, 4032 furnishes help at this point. It begins: *Aḥ-šá-lim ki-ma Ī-lí-a-lim A-lá-ḥa-am mar I-bi-zu-a ma-aḥ-ri-ni iz-ba-at-ma*, Aḥšalim the representative of Ilialim filed suit against Alaḥam son of Ibizua before us. This variant formula suggests that the more usual one is to be translated "X brought a suit against Y before us," taking *ni-a-tî* as the Dative suffix.

21. *ku-ta-nu*, BIN IV, 27:9, 12, 22, etc. This word is to be compared with the biblical *kutoneth* and the Greek *chiton* which in both cases mean a kind of garment. The fact that the word is found here with a fraction indicates that it does not mean a garment in Cappadocian. It is doubtless to be rendered "linen." The expression *TÚG ku-ta-nu* means rolls of linen, cf. BIN IV 128.

22. *me-šú-um*, BIN IV, 26:49. The translation here given is doubtful. *Mašu* means "twin" or "double"; M-A 596a. The word appears frequently in Cappadocian texts; cf. BIN IV, 18:10/38:30/69:5, 11, 19/33:21/LTC IV, 19:2/25:3/27:3/29:40, 46, etc.

23. *me-ta-at-ni*, BIN IV, 141:3. Fem. Permansive from the root *mātu*, with the *ni* enclitic of relative and dependent clauses.

24. *ni-ga-zi*, BIN IV, 61:46. Cf. Assy. *nikasu*, property, possessions, treasure. See also BA 4, 481.

25. *ni-iz-ḥa-tum*, BIN IV, 122, 61:7, 29:11, etc. The phrase *ni-iz-ḥa-zu DIR šá-du-a-zu šá-bu* occurs frequently in the texts of the Yale Collection of Cappadocian tablets. Smith has discussed the phrase (CCT I, p. 8) but his explanation of *ni-iz-ḥa-zu si-a* (DIR), "whose brightness is polished," must certainly be rejected. Lewy (SATK, 55) has correctly derived *šá-bu* from the root *šebū*, as a regular technical term

for the satisfying of a claim. The signs read *si-a* by Smith are probably to be read as one sign, *DIR*; cf. TC, pp. 52-53. *DIR* has the common Semitic value *malû*, (B. 3739) by which it is probably to be read here. The words *ni-iz-ḥa-zu* and *ša-du-a-zu* appear to be the names of certain kinds of official fees or taxes which were regularly deducted from the total quantities of merchandise involved in the transactions. They may represent the commission of middle men or possibly customs duties, or the fees paid the carriers for transportation. The final syllable *zu* in each word is the pronominal suffix; *ni-iz-ḥa-at-šu* becomes *ni-iz-ḥa-zu*. The root of *ni-iz-ḥa-zu* is *naṣaḥu*, to remove, extract. Johns (AJSL 22, 227) suggests that *nisiḫtu*, a word frequently used in Old Babylonian contracts, means a levy on produce which was seized for state use. In BIN IV, 29:12 it is to be noted that the *nishatum* was a levy deducted for the temple. It would appear that the temple derived a part of its income from customs duties imposed upon shipments of merchandise. Doctor Lewy has suggested to me in a personal letter that *ša-du-a-zu* may be a shafel formation from the root *idû*, to know, with the meaning "Vermittler." He compares the form *šazuztu* from *nazazu* III, 1, "Gestellter." "Vermittler" does not seem to fit the context in many cases. The word may indeed be in form what Doctor Lewy suggests but with the meaning of a fee for determining the value of the silver in question.

26. *pa-du*, BIN IV, 103:3, 33. Doctor Lewy noted (SATK 12, 20) that the *PA* sign, at the time of his publication, had not been found in Cappadocian texts except in the one instance (Gol. 16:8) which he says is doubtful. There are three unquestionable occurrences of the sign in the tablets of the Nies Collection at Yale; two are as indicated above and one in the unpublished fragment NBC 1655:22, where we meet the phrase *a-lim<sup>ki</sup> PA-DU*. These passages establish the fact that the sign was really known though rarely used; they do not, however, disturb the belief of Doctor Lewy and others that the consonant *p* was reproduced in Cappadocian by *b*; for the sign may well not have been pronounced *pa*. Indeed the fact that it never occurs in any other word suggests that it was used as an ideogram and that the *du* which always follows it



is a phonetic complement. The context in each of the four passages cited would permit rendering the word as an official.

27. *qa-me-šú-nu ù ki-ni-šú-nu*, BIN IV, 170:15. The phrase *i-na qa-ga-ad qa-me-šú-nu ù ki-ni-šú-nu* is discussed by Lewy in SATK 49, note 1. He correctly derives *ki-nu* from *kinnu*, family. For *qa-me* he says the etymology is doubtful; on page 82 of the same work he renders it "Selbstheit(?)." The word may be derived from the root *qum* (Heb.) which is not found in Assyrian but is common in other Semitic languages. In Arabic a derivative of this root means people or relations. This meaning fits the context well in Cappadocian. The two words together may be taken as equivalent in meaning to the English expression "their kith and kin."

28. *ri-iš-dam*, BIN IV, 81:7. It was customary to write this adjective for oil of the first quality without the word for oil; cf. TC 1:18, 2:14, BIN IV 61:21.

29. *šá-ak-na-at*, BIN IV, 127:15. From *šakanu*, Permanent, 3rd Fem. Sing.

30. *si-ib*, BIN IV 12:5, 7:5, 26:4, 7, 28:3, 5, 61:70. This word is to be compared with *ṣi'pu*, VAB 6, 364, letter. It is used in Cappadocian in a technical sense, referring to a tablet which the conductor of a caravan carried, giving a list of his goods.

31. *si-ta-tim*, BIN IV 147:7. Cf. *si-ti*.

32. *si-ti*, BIN IV 61:10. For *šittu*, rest, balance; cf. VAB 6, 397. In line 53 the word is written *si-ti*.<sup>1</sup> The translation "balance" is proved correct by its use in this tablet; e. g., in line 53 the balance of the lead is given as 40 minas less 10 shekels. This can be checked up as follows: in line 3 there are 6 talents, 30 minas of lead to be accounted for; from lines 15, 16, 17 and 23 we deduct 12,  $9\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $6\frac{1}{3}$  and 9 minas respectively; total to be deducted is 37 minas; this leaves the balance of 5 talents, 53 minas of line 25; from this balance we deduct for lines 26 and 34, 2 talents, 59 minas, and 2 talents, 14 minas, 10 shekels respectively; the balance is that given in line 53.

33. *šú-ru-tum*, BIN IV 61:4. It is written also *šú-ra-am* in lines 7, 11, where the accusative case is required. It is compared by Smith to the Assyrian *šuru*; cf. CCT I, p. 9. See also *šeri'tu*, M.A 1105b.

34. *ta-ma-lá-ki*, BIN IV 103:5, 9, 31. A noun formation from the root *malāku*, to give counsel. It refers to the official actions of the Garum.

35. *tî-ir-ta-ga*, BIN IV 6:28. This word which appears so frequently in the letters has had several suggested explanations. Sayce proposed the Assyrian *terdu*, boy, slave (Liv. p. 82). Contenau derives it from *tertu*, order, command (TC p. 114). It is to be taken from the root *taradu*, which in the Hammurabi letters means, to send; cf. VAB 6, 308. In the Hammurabi letters it was usually used of sending persons; here the noun means the message the person bore.

36. *TÚG*, BIN IV 141:1. The occasional use of the *TÚG* sign with a fraction as in this case shows that it was more than the simple determinative for a garment. The Cappadocians had some special significance attached to the sign which is not fully known to us. In cases like this we may conjecture that it meant a roll of cloth of a certain standard size. In many cases the kind of material is specified by a word following the ideogram; frequently also, it is used as a determinative for garments.

37. *ú-lá*, BIN IV 147:13, 19. It is usually merely the negative (BIN IV 46:9) but here it corresponds to the Hebrew *ulai*, perhaps.

38. *ú-si-ir*, BIN IV 15:20. From *aru*, to go, III, 1.

39. *wa-ad-ru-tim*, BIN IV 61:44. From *ataru* (?), to be more than.

40. *wa-zi-tum*, BIN IV 127:2, 30:13. Another kind of fee or tax connected with the transportation of silver was *wazitum*. The form *wa-zi-zu* is from *wazitum* plus *šú*. The root must be *ašu*; the general meaning of the term would then be, that which goes out, or, expenses.

41. *zi-ki*, BIN IV 109:5. This is the same word as *zi-ga-ga* in line 8. Here it has the pron. suf. of the 1 sing. and there it has the pron. suf. of the 2 sing. The word is probably from the same root as *iz-ku-ú-nim*, BIN IV 27:23, meaning, free from obligation. It is a word which is used to describe merchandise after it has been subjected to the customs duties and official fees.

42. *zi-tî*, BIN IV 46:11. Variant spelling for *si-tî*; cf. note 32.

43. The pronominal suffixes used with nouns are identical with those used in Assyrian with the following exceptions: the second singular masculine is *ga* for *ka*; the second plural is *aknu* for *kunu* (BIN IV 49:9, 13, 23, TC 17:6, CBS 4065:10); the third feminine plural is *sina* for *šina* (BIN IV 162:13). All the other forms commonly occurring in Assyrian are to be found in Cappadocian.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.	Brünnow, A classified List . . . of Cuneiform Ideographs . . . Leyden, 1899.
Babyl.	Babyloniaca.
BIN IV	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies, Part IV. (In preparation), Clay.
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
CCT I	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. Part I. London, 1921.
Gol.	Vingt-Quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes, W. Golénischeff. St. Petersburg, 1891.
Knudtzon Amarna	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, Knudtzon. Leipzig, 1915.
LC	Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne, Thureau-Dangin. Paris, 1910.
Liv.	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, Vol. I, 3.
LSS	Leipziger Semitistische Studien.
LTC IV	Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes, Tome IV, Tablettes Cappadociennes. Paris, 1920.
M-A	Muss-Arnolt, A concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language. Berlin, 1905.
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection.
SATK	Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien, Lewy. Berlin, 1922.
TC	Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes, Contenau. Paris, 1919.
VAB 6	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Babylonische Briefe, Ungnad. Leipzig, 1914.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.



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## FACULTY NOTES

Professor Ralph W. Nelson, of the Department of Philosophy, has had several articles recently published. All deal with some phase of philosophy, particularly the field of logic. The periodicals in which his work has appeared are: American Review, American Journal of Sociology, Culver-Stockton Quarterly. Another article is in preparation for the Crozer Quarterly.

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Dr. W. E. Schultz, of the Department of English, has been elected Grand Editor of Theta Alpha Phi national honorary dramatic fraternity. He will have charge of the Cue, a quarterly journal, beginning with the November number. At the annual convention of Theta Alpha Phi, held in New York in December, he read a paper entitled "The Selection of Plays for College Performance," subsequently printed in the fraternity magazine for March.

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Professor Henry G. Harmon, of the Department of History, had had considerable experience recently in connection with educational surveys, with special reference to the small standard college, particularly of the Disciples of Christ.

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Mr. Griffith L. Gordon, of the Department of Music, had one of his sacred compositions publicly produced in St. Louis during the past winter.

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Miss Mildred McGhee, of the Department of Public Speaking, is the author of a monograph dealing with the life and artistic work of Ada Rehan, the actress, to appear later in this publication. Miss McGhee studied under Robert Mantell last summer in New York.

Mr. Claude E. Spencer, of the Culver-Stockton Library, expects to compile in collaboration with Dr. W. E. Schultz, a full history of Culver-Stockton College, with documentary quotation and illustration.

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Culver-Stockton adds another to the list of college presidents who have been recruited from the ranks of the alumni or the faculty since 1853. Rev. J. B. Weldon, '04, former Professor of Greek and Vice President, has already assumed his place as head of Cotner College, at Bethany, Nebraska. The new Dean at Cotner is Professor George E. Breece, who served here for nine years as Professor of Education, resigning last year to finish his graduate work at the University of Chicago.





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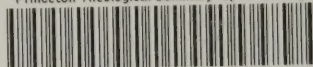
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